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東方各國傳統戲劇的血緣聯繫和現代轉換

The Relationship of Traditional Theater in Asian
Countries and Its Changes to The Modern Society

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印度佛教的崛起，使東方產生了一個固定而強力的定教傳播源，它擴張的結果是東方統一宗教體系的誕生。公元紀年以後，佛教小乘宗的勢力已經在南亞大陸蔓延開來，其宗教使者在殉教精神鼓舞下，還跨越沙漠、戈壁和崇山湍流，到達中國內陸進行傳道（1）。小乘宗的教義限制或許並不利於梵劇本體的廣張（2），但它在強力傳播時所挾帶的龐雜文化信息，卻使梵樂作為一種舞樂文化而為東南亞廣泛吸納（3）。公元二世紀以後在印度北部形成的佛教大乘宗，則直接採納梵劇的形式作為自身祭奠儀式（4）。起到了為梵劇傳播推波助瀾的作用。

根據文化症候進行區分可以看到，印度佛教的東漸，在東方造成兩個受其影響的文化圈，一個是與印度接壤或臨水、隸屬於印度文化直接傳播區域的東亞諸國，包括斯里蘭卡、緬甸、泰國、老撾、柬埔寨以及印度尼西亞、馬來西亞等，一個是由中國西域導入，經中國文化吐納氳氳後發展的文化圈，包括朝鮮、日本等。越南則受到這兩個文化圈的雙重覆蓋。南亞諸國在遭遇佛教文化時，由於其本土文明尚處於自在的蒙昧階段，幾乎全盤轉接了印度文明，這裡的戲劇題材打有深刻的印度胎痕，佛本生故事以及印度兩大史詩《羅摩衍那》（Ramayana）和《摩訶婆羅多》（Mahabharata）的內容都在戲劇舞台上被長期和廣泛的採用，溶解為土著戲劇的精神與血肉。南亞古典戲劇在藝術風範上與印度梵劇血脈暗通，其舞劇中的舞姿多以手部與臂部繁雜細微的運動程式為主要手段，隨時傳遞出印度戲劇經典《舞論》（Natyasastra）美學理想的神韻，說明了這一點。中國接受印度佛教文化的程度和方式與南亞有別，在這裡，佛教文化為中國高度發展了的既有文明所過濾，因而中國對梵劇因素的接受也經過了篩選與折射。至於日本經由中國二級輸送的佛教文化，已經著染了中國的鮮明特色，例如禪，而日本戲劇所承接的大唐文化滲透，更是直接由中土的歌舞散樂而來了。

印度梵劇在亞洲大陸上的東漸，比較實在而有線索可循的軌跡為陸路傳播。當它到達東土之時，中國正處於大唐的博約精神高漲時期，中國戲曲也正處於廣為吸收藝術營養而朝向完整綜合產的表演體制發展的路途中，因而它適時地對於中國戲曲發抒了影響。至於東南亞一些國家承繼的傳統戲劇樣式，一般都形成於印度梵劇發展的後期，甚至在它衰亡之後，它們與梵劇的直接聯繫已無可憑依。我們注意到，梵劇東來還有可能南海水路（詳後），東南亞國家有著從水陸兩途承接梵劇文化的條件。其中，馬來群島的土著戲劇顯現了更為複雜的文化交滲態，成為東南亞戲劇文化現象中的一個特例（5）。

印度佛教文化在向東方發抒了強力的脈沖以後，其自身卻在伊斯蘭教文化的衝擊下於

12~13 世紀衰敗下去，以致梵劇這個東方最早興盛、歷時一千多年的古典戲劇樣式成為古跡。梵劇的文化信息，只在印度南部一些寺院裡通過儀式戲劇的形式保存下來，例如喀拉拉（Kerala）邦的庫提亞特姆（Kutiyatham）古劇，但是我們從中已經不能窺見梵劇的原貌。至於印度在中古以後陸續興起的方言戲劇，轉而接受了更多西方文化的滲透，已經是變異後的結果了。

由上述知道，東方戲劇或多或少都打有佛教文化的印痕，但這並不意味東方戲劇僅僅是梵劇文化的衍生物。佛教滲入東方各國後，地域宗教都呈現出多元混融共立並存的局面，它們一同創造了東方戲劇的複雜精神包蘊。東方宗教精神中的多神信仰及其廣博的含容性是這種文化融和的前提，基於此，東漸的佛教才能見容於中國的儒教、道教，而由中國東來的佛教、儒教才能見容於日本的神道教。亦在這種文化品性的支配下，東方戲劇才得以彼此吸納並呈現出某種一致性的舞台風格趨勢。事實上東方戲劇有著多元的緣起，指明梵劇施加於中國戲曲之上的文化影響，不等於說中國戲曲與梵劇有著本體上的直接承襲關係。與歐洲戲劇的歷程不同，東方各種戲劇樣式的最初源起，多半都有一個直接從本土原始宗教儀式脫胎出來的過程，其後來發展中向橫側面吸納文化和藝術滋養，雖然在量的方面各各不同，但都需經過與本體有機交揉使之轉化為自身元素。這造成東方戲劇形態構成的多樣性和民族性，決定了東方未能形成西方式的共通戲劇類型。

處於東方大陸主幹的地理位置，使中國成為西來文明的主要承接者，它同時又是向周邊地區傳遞文化信息的文明輸送者。這種特殊的身份，使逐步走向成熟的中國戲曲承擔了包蘊吐納西來文化然後向周邊發散的歷史任務，它的中介地位由此建立。

梵劇的東漸首先借助於梵樂的東流。西漢張騫通使西域，帶回了【摩訶】、【兜勒】兩個印度佛曲（6）。東漢以後佛教逐漸傳入中原，開始了東方宗教文化的大滲透。隨著公元 2 世紀在中亞廣闊版圖上奠定煌煌霸業的印度貴霜王朝的文化興盛，印度佛教大乘宗也在印度北部乘時而起，開始向周圍特別是東方發抒文化信息的脈衝，並通過絲綢之路將其觸角探向中國內陸。此時中國經過魏晉之亂，正統雅樂遺失，又適逢盛唐的博取精神高漲，印度梵樂就大量滲入中國的民族藝術藏庫，直接刺激了一代藝術樣式——唐代大曲的繁盛。東晉時，印度的天竺樂已經通過涼州傳入中國宮廷（7），而天竺佛教樂舞可能早就從民間傳入了，所以南朝梁武帝才能夠在佛寺設無遮欄大會，大奏佛樂，觀賞法樂童子伎、童子倚歌、梵唄表演等（8）。唐代皇廷鑒於大量印度佛樂進入中國的事實，曾於天寶 13 年（754 年）由唐玄宗出面，下旨將 58 首常用佛曲改為中國名稱，並在國都長安的太常寺衙門刻碑立石（9），這是唐代官方採取的一次吸納印度梵樂的大規模行動。唐代大曲與優戲結合孕育詩、歌、舞一體的綜合戲曲形態的過程，與吸納印度佛樂佛舞的過程一齊展開，使中國戲曲與印度梵樂帶有了天然的姻緣聯繫。印度梵劇就在這種時代背景下傳入中國。

印度梵劇傳入中國的證據，是在新疆先後發現的梵文、吐火羅文和回鶻文三種文字的

《彌勒會見記》文本，這是公元 1、2 世紀印度梵劇大師馬鳴的劇本，還發現過其他梵劇劇本（10）。吐火羅語與回鶻語是當時新疆不同民族所運用的語言，不同語言文本之間有著依次轉譯的明顯痕跡。當然，新疆本地居民從梵文中轉譯佛教劇本，主要不是出於對其藝術價值的考慮，更多是出於宗教的目的。

梵劇經由西域進入中國內陸，必須跨越幾個文化範域：中亞吐火羅語文化區、新疆回鶻文化區，最後才能到達漢民族文化在西部的最大集結地：敦煌。從佛教劇本在新疆地區的流傳，我們隱約看到一條印度梵劇東漸的語言轉換軌跡：梵文→吐火羅文→回鶻文→漢文。和佛樂的東傳相比，梵劇由於其體裁和語言上的限制，在東漸的路途中逐步發生了變異。分析用不同語言翻譯的梵劇可以看到，其戲劇的文本特徵遞相減弱，逐漸向敘事詩形式靠攏。當佛教文化最終到達另外一個強盛的文化凝聚體——漢文化的邊緣時，兩種文化發生了劇烈的碰撞，在雙向引力作用下，梵劇與中國民族藝術裡的某些實用型形態發生了雜糅與融合，蛻變成了一種新的文學樣式——變文。由此說明，印度梵劇沒有到達中國內陸的腹地，它在東傳的過程中，由於文化對抗和載體不同等原因，發生了轉化，它對於中國戲曲的影響將通過文化淵源的延伸而不是直接的舞台傳承方式進行。這就解釋了敦煌典籍中為什麼已經不可能出現真正的漢文梵劇劇本，而只存在著大量的變文說唱文本。變文說唱的藝術形式及其內容，對於綜合形態中國戲曲的成熟發生了潛移默化的作用，而突出於表層的一個實例即印度《目蓮救母》故事從精神到倫理的中土化，並實現了一個戲曲劇目所能產生的最大傳播面與影響值。反觀之，由其範疇中包蘊眾量舞樂因子的根性和其性格中具備開放的囊括精神所決定，在中國戲曲碰巧遭遇到佛樂文化時，它曾有過一段對之吸納汲取的過程，只是結果表現為同化後的變形徵貌，使人不易辨別。

除了陸地交通以外，印度與中國的文化交流還可以通過南洋的水路。從印度的南海乘船出發，繞道馬六甲海峽，經馬來群島到達中國東南沿海以及日本。馬來群島的佛教文化痕跡是一個實例，中國於 20 世紀 30 年代在浙江省天台山國清寺發現印度 3 到 5 世紀著名梵劇作家迦梨陀娑（Kalidasa）的名劇《沙恭達羅》（Sakuntala）的寫本（11），更表露了這種跡象。另外，比較研究揭示了梵劇體例與中國產生於東南沿海一帶的南戲更為接近。而不是興起於北方的元雜劇（12），可能是這種說法的有力證據；關於印度商船攜帶宗教保護神並履行戲劇祭儀的猜測也是對這種說法的支撐（13），當然它的確認仍然需要實證材料。

如果說，萌芽於中國東南沿海一帶的南戲確是在印度戲劇的影響之下發展為成熟戲劇形式的話，那麼，形成於中國北部的北雜劇則是在直接間接吸納唐代歌舞大曲（包括佛曲）、說唱藝術（包括由梵劇轉化而來的變文）的營養之後，孕育成熟的戲劇樣式。中國戲曲的發展在 12 世紀初葉時達到了它的成熟階段，南戲和北雜劇兩種綜合性的戲曲腔種相繼產生，其舞台手段也十分完善，具備了中國戲曲的全部美學原則和藝術風貌。從此，它結束

了從西域戲劇汲取養分的階段，開始了相對自我封閉的長期發展過程。

與處於形成過程中的中國戲曲源源不斷地從印度梵劇文化中汲取養料同時，它也就把這些養料經過自己的咀嚼消化而向周邊國家吐納。它的影響，至少體現在日本能樂的興起，以及朝鮮、越南等國家的戲劇樣式的產生上。

正當唐朝大規模吞吐印度文化之時，日本與唐朝的文化交往也達到了歷史的高峰時期，眾多的遣唐使和僧侶的往來，把佛教與印、唐文化一併移入東瀛列島，經過神道宗教精神的過濾，使之融入本土文化。在日本，我們至今可以看到保存在博物館裡的隋唐歌舞面具「伎樂面」、「蘭陵王」面具等，它們的來源與印度樂舞有著潛在的聯繫（14）。而通常認為，傳入日本的唐土散樂，以及佛教禪寺中在宗教儀式結束後進行的餘興技藝表演延年舞曲，經與土起農家之樂的田樂、庶民階層裡流行的風流、連事等表演技藝結合，蛻變出日本的古典戲劇能樂。能的以歷史英雄、哀艷美女為主人公，表演結構中序、破、急的三段式，序時奏樂歌唱、破時穿插歌舞、急段進入節奏緊張的高潮的韻律，表演人的只舞不唱、佩帶面具、用合唱隊伴演，在在透露出唐代大曲的美學風範。狂言則更類同於唐代優戲的世俗滑稽調笑，它夾雜於能的段落中演出的程序，也與大曲間以優戲的表演規程合拍。然而，將能和狂言與時代接近的中國戲曲樣式元雜劇對照，我們很難找到類同的成份，日本戲劇在吸納了大唐舞樂文化之後，就進入了自身獨立的演變過程，因而東方又一種具備獨特藝術質的古典戲劇樣式才得以形成。至於形成於12世紀末期的朝鮮山台假面劇，與中國的儺戲有著密切聯繫（15），而產生於13世紀的越南劇則是元雜劇的直接後裔（16）。

可以說，周邊國家古老戲劇樣式的形成，許多都同中國戲曲的影響有關聯，其中包括從中國戲曲間接承傳印度梵樂的成份。中國戲曲在融合並傳播梵樂文化方面起到了中介作用。

東方戲劇具有相同的近代命運：西方文明的崛起，在它與過去以及東方之間劃出了一條明顯的鴻溝，並以其強力把世界納入了全球化的軌道，與傳統生存方式相聯繫的東方文明從此被歸結為傳統，劃歸與現代相隔離的概念。受到這一強勢的衝擊，東方文明逐漸萎縮和衰落，而西方文化則成為東方的法本。處身於這一渦流中的東方戲劇，它的自在衍生狀態被打破，舞台開始向西方傾斜，而異質戲劇的作用導致它走向式微與變異。東方戲劇的命運受到了挑戰。

世界文明史邁入近代的步伐強悍而掙紮。隨著世界地理大發現的迅速推進，西方發現了東方；隨著歐洲工業革命的實現以及它對工業原料和世界市場要求的急遽增長，西方強硬地撞擊了東方神聖而古老的大門。於是，就像水庫漲潰了堤堰，西方文明的洪水向著東方傾瀉而下，摧毀了東方早已沿襲為傳統的封閉與寧靜。從此，世界文明的西潮東漸之勢形成，東方被裹入無休止的現代喧囂，永遠告別了它的古典式溫馨。

此時正當西方戲劇舞台發生變革的前夜，於是寫實主義戲劇樣式作為一種傳統定勢，隨著西方文化的東漸進入東方，並在東方各個國家建立起自己的劇場。它既促成了東方傳統戲劇的裂變，又帶動了東方各種新型戲劇樣式的產生，其中最重要的一支，是東方各國普遍模仿西方話劇舞台形式建立而用各種民族語言演出的新劇。

由於東方國家相異的歷史遭際，東方戲劇的近代歷程各各不同，但大體來說都由三方面的演進構成，即：一、引入西方戲劇樣式；二、古典戲劇發生蛻變；三、一些新的文化混合體形成。在一些國家裡（例如印度），三種演進趨勢可以是合一的，共同體現於某種民族戲劇的發展演變過程中。在更多一些國家裡，這種演進造就了不同戲劇類型的出現與共生。其歷史過程的展開，通常演進的第一、第二方面為併發，第三方面則稍晚後逐漸產生。

印度首當其衝地承接了西方文明的入侵，在它 18 世紀中葉淪為大英帝國殖民地的時候，其文化上曾經極度盛行的梵劇傳統早已中斷，而方言戲劇則剛剛興起，舞台形式尚未定型，在文化接受上它正進行融括印度史詩與神話以及古典梵劇、波斯與阿拉伯神話傳說的努力，於是對於西方戲劇一種必然的吸納和熔冶過程也就適時地開始了，呈文化混合體面貌的戲劇形式由之誕生。隨著更多的現代劇作家和舞台技術人員日益得到西方戲劇理論的教育與訓練，印度方言戲劇越來越向西方話劇的舞台行為靠攏，類似的情形在泰米爾語、孟加拉語、印地語、烏爾都語方言戲劇中都同樣發生。

更多的東方國家，特別是保存了悠久戲劇傳統的中國和日本，當它遭受到西方戲劇文化輻射時，其影響雖也帶來了民族戲劇面貌的極大改觀，但不足以使傳統戲劇樣式整體蛻變，而只把其中一些蛻變較大的部分分離使之獨立出去，造成戲劇的傳統樣式與蛻變形式並存的局面。這些國家對於西方戲劇的接受，通常都以翻譯和介紹經典作品開始，最初的注重點是內容而非形式。在將這些作品搬上舞台的初期，往往利用或借鑒了民族戲劇的形式，導致了一些蛻變戲劇樣式的出現，日本的新派劇，中國的改良戲曲和文明新戲，馬來西亞邦沙萬劇的新劇，越南的小說劇都是類似的產兒。從異質文化的接受過程來看，先決概念導致最初的錯位總在發生，隨著對西方舞台本質了解的深入，這種錯位就被修正了，運用民族語言而遵照西方舞台樣式進行演出的新劇（在中國稱之為話劇）從而形成，創作也繼而開始。

東方對方西方戲劇的接受，有兩種不同的途徑，一種是在西方殖民文化的直接作用下被迫接受，如印度和東南亞許多國家是；另一種是為求自身文化的振興圖強而主動向西方尋求真理，如日本、中國是。後者的出現建立在共同的認識基礎上：民族的傳統戲劇樣式由於積澱了過多的歷史內涵與形式美抽象，已形成莊穩持重的舞台定勢，它那豐厚的傳統美基因橫互於它與現代生活的聯繫之間，使之失去現實的生命活力，無法滿足社會處於思想變革階段狂飆突進式思維方式的需要，唯一的辦法似乎只是大量拋卻傳統的形式美內蘊，

使戲劇的舞台風格向西方的寫實性靠攏。

雖然近代以來日本與中國面對著共同的世界局面，由於本身文化性向的差異，日本卻先於中國採取了主動迎接西方文化挑戰並積極回應的態勢，這造成日本近代發展軌跡在東方的獨特性，使之成為 19 到 20 世紀之交東西方文化衝撞中東方領時代之先的民族。於是，與明治維新共脈搏的古典戲劇改良運動促成了日本新派劇從歌舞伎中脫胎而出，20 世紀初葉更導致了新劇的誕生。由於長期遭受天朝意識和文明古邦優越心理的支配，中國改良派所面對的惰性傳統遠較日本為強大和頑固，不得不在日本維新取得耀目成果之後，放下架子，取法東瀛，尋求便捷之路，因而，中國 20 世紀初葉產生的西式戲劇樣式文明新戲卻並非直接來自歐美，而啓蒙於日本新派劇，它造成中國話劇早期的奇異形式。及至區美戲劇形式通過留學返歸的隧道被帶入中華本土，中國新劇運動才匯入東方劇壇主流。朝鮮戲劇同樣有一個轉道日本接近西方的過程，只是那已經是在日本殖民形態中發生的事了。

在部分特質蛻變出新的戲劇樣式的同時，東方古典戲劇的傳統舞台樣式受到西方影響也發生了不同程度的變異，它接受了現代社會為之提供的篩選和改造。最重要的變異取決於劇場建築形制的改造，在西方建築學思想和技術的影響下，東方戲劇改變了已往劇場的簡陋與隨意，逐步建立起採納現代聲學和光學原理構設的新式劇場，並採用了西方的舞台技術設備如機械傳動、燈光照明、分幕與垂幕、各類新穎材料製作的景片等。新式劇場提供了不同於傳統東方劇場的功能，其較為嚴肅的演出氣氛和優良的藝術環境，為演員表演與觀眾的領略表演創造了較好的條件。然而，舊有的東方劇場本有著它不可取代的民族特性，它具備更深厚的民俗親和力，常常還融進了宗教的氣氛，有助於激發觀眾對於舞台的感情參與和精神投入。坐在東方古典劇場裡觀看東方傳統戲劇，有著特別的氛圍感受，這種氛圍與東方傳統戲劇的生命力相連，成為支撐其繁衍的重要條件。改變了東方的演劇環境，就使東方傳統戲劇的生存根基受到威脅。戲劇生存空間的變化繼而影響到其表演形式的改變，通常新的戲劇場地都要求對傳統表演程式作出或多或少的調整，這種時代的要求，如果在尊重民族藝術原則的前提下實現，自然也會收到滿意的效果。然而科學技術的進步不一定都給藝術帶來正面的效應，一個不該發生但卻一直在發生的事實是，盲目的模仿西方傾向使東方戲劇一定程度上迷失了自我，例如鏡框式舞台對於伸出式戲台的取代逼迫中國戲曲過分改變了自己的舞台行為方式，而過度的寫實傾向則對東方戲劇的本質屬性造成了閹割。

如上所述，面對西方戲劇文化的整體包籠，東方傳統戲劇經受了同一的命運，然而由於歷史條件不同，東方不同種類的戲劇所面臨的問題不盡相同。印度由於殖民文化的原因，傳統歌舞劇最初反而在西方獵奇與追尋異國情調的需求中得以保存（164），及至 19 世紀末期，經過甘地（M. Gandhi, 1869~1948）、泰戈爾（R. Tagore, 1861~1941）等現代哲人的努力，興盛的民族主義思潮逐步促成了保護傳統藝術的自覺意識。日本文化性格中試圖保存

每一種傳統藝術樣式的心理頑固性，使能樂和狂言能夠穿透歷史時段的阻隔，在舞台上延續了八百年而不絕，其它幾種遞興的古典戲劇樣式人形靜璃、歌舞伎等同樣如此。日本舞樂文化中世代相襲的保守制度在其中發揮了重大的作用，這一次同樣幫助它度過了西方戲劇文化衝擊的危機，並在經歷了明治維新與二戰失敗兩次大的社會動盪之後，重新恢復活力，60年代陸續建立起來的專門演出場所「能樂堂」等，以及各大寺院恢復的節慶能樂演出，都為之鼓息輸氧。現代自省意識促使日本人把能樂視為國寶，從中尋找民族傳統的美的靈魂，用以抵禦戰後頹廢文化的侵蝕——進入現代的能早已失卻了其原始質中貴族情懷的階段意識，而轉化為體現民族文化精髓的一種顯形藝術樣式。至於東南亞各國戲劇的近代延伸，大約都有著雖然複雜但大體相近的過程。

中國戲曲面臨的局面最為複雜，因此目前的狀況也最值得憂慮。它的傳統從一千年前的宋代一直生生不息地延續下來，在悠久的時間和廣袤的地域裡，它繁衍出了眾多形態接近而風格各異的劇種樣式，它們的生命歷程疊相交織、此起彼落，古典的消亡了，近代的又興起，一些過了盛年進入衰退期，一些剛剛萌發嚮往著未來，老邁的孕育著新生的萌芽，稚嫩的流淌著遠古的血液。它保持歷史延續性的頑強生命力就體現在這種循環往復、新陳代謝的運動過程中，一旦運動終止，它就失去了活力。然而，20世紀後半葉以來，由於種種社會因素的制約，它的運行速率已極度減緩。對於西方文化思潮的滯後性接納，加強了這種減緩的力度：中國的戲曲劇場一無例外地由隨意式改造為鏡框式，當它近年悔悟地意識到西方伸出式和自由式舞台劇場運動重新風靡的內在機理時，受經濟力量制約至少在一個很長時段內無法改變的錯誤早已鑄成。

目前東方傳統戲劇所面臨的共同困惑是：如何在文化的變遷中保存自己的東方特色，亦即保存東方戲劇的原始質？這個問題受到兩個方向的牽制：一、藝術在變異過程中不可喪失本原精神，否則就成為另外一種它質藝術；二、在東西方文化交融的趨勢中，東西方藝術的風貌必然出現某種程度的趨同。在堅持原質與美學原則滲透之間，有一個具備張力並呈歷史性改變的度數，對它的準確把握永遠是一個困難的實踐命題。

當然，20世紀世界的舞台戲劇整體受到了新興傳播藝術電影和電視的衝擊，因而無論是東方還是西方戲劇都似乎走過了盛期，上文所述民族戲劇的衰微還應該正視這一更為強悍的因素。但是，也可以理解為戲劇的部分功能被後者分離出去而加入了更為寬廣的傳播領域，這於戲劇的命運是促衰還是現代延長？

注 釋：

- (1) 佛教於公元1世紀時傳入中國，參見（漢）牟子《理惑論》、《廣弘明集》卷一。
- (2) 佛教小乘宗的教義不允許偶像崇拜、行像禮佛、俗世歌舞等儀式存在。參見呂《印度佛學源流略講》，上海：人民出版社，1979年。
- (3) 印度佛教大乘宗採絛梵劇演出作為自己的禮讚儀式之一，見於歷史記載。例如中國南朝（公

元5世紀)時坊印的宋國僧人法顯,曾在中印度看到佛寺演出《舍利弗》劇,在他的《佛國記》裡有記載。另外,印度大乘佛教的奠基人馬鳴親自撰寫梵劇本《舍利弗傳》的事實本身也能說明問題。

- (4) 南亞一帶國家主要受到印度教和盛行於印度中南部的小乘佛教的影響,中國及東亞國家主要受到小乘佛教和盛行於印度北部的大乘佛教的影響,兩種影響表現出不同的結果。
- (5) 馬來西亞的哇揚影戲早在8世紀已經出現,源於爪哇人的祭祖活動,印度文化傳入後,哇揚影戲的劇目受到影響,14世紀後伊斯蘭文化的勢力膨脹,通過波斯和印度本土也來到這裡,使當地的文化與戲劇又打上了伊斯蘭的痕跡。馬來西亞的邦沙萬劇,更是直接由波斯輾轉傳入的伊斯蘭宗教祭祀舞劇。至於當地的巴厘舞劇,更多地保留了原始戲劇的形態,則隸屬於自然原生態的藝術樣式了。參見 James R. Brandon, *Theatre in Southeast Asia*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press; 《中國大百科全書·戲劇卷》(北京:中國大百科全書出版社,1989年)有關條目。
- (6) 參見(漢)崔豹《古今注》。從名稱看,這兩個曲子有可能出自印度,因為「摩訶」顯然是天竺(古印度)語中 Maha 一詞的對音。參見向達《唐代長安與西域文明》,北京:三聯書店,1979年,第253頁。
- (7) 參見《隋書·音樂誌下》,北京:中華書局,1973年,第2冊第370頁。
- (8) 同上第305頁。
- (9) 參見《唐會要》卷三十三,《叢書集成初編》,上海:商務印書館,1936年,第6冊第615-618頁。
- (10) 參見(德)葛瑪麗《高昌回鶻王國(公元850-1250)》,耿世澤譯,《新疆大學學報》1980年第2期;季羨林《談新疆博物館藏吐火羅文A〈彌勒會見記劇本〉》,《文物》1983年第1期;耿世民《古代維吾爾語佛教原始劇本〈彌勒會見記〉(哈密寫本)研究》,《文史》第12輯,北京:中華書局,1982年。
- (11) 參見鄭振鐸《插圖本中國文學史》,北京:人民文學出版社1982年版,第三冊第568頁。
- (12) 參見許地山《梵劇體例及其在漢劇上底點點滴滴》,《小說月報》第17卷號外,1927年;鄭振鐸《插圖本中國文學史》,北京:人民文學出版社1982年版,第三冊第568-572頁。
- (13) (德)布海歌(HelgaWerle-Burger):《中國戲曲傳統與印度 Kerala 地方的梵劇的比較》,《戲曲研究》第24輯,北京:文化藝術出版社,1987年。
- (14) 推古天皇二十年(612)朝鮮人味摩之帶到日本一批(伎樂面),其中的「金剛」、「力士」、「獅子」等都與印度的佛教和物產有關;日本古代樂舞《羅陵王》、《拔頭》,日本學者高楠順次郎指為印度舞樂的後裔,他說,「羅陵王」是歌詠娑竭羅龍王(Sagara roi des Dragons)的曲子,「拔頭」是從《梨俱吠陀》(Rig Veda)以及《阿闍婆吠陀》(Atharva Veda)中的 Pedu 王白馬(Paidva)奮戰毒蛇的故事演義而來(參見由邊尚雄《東洋音樂論》,東京:春秋社,1929年,第238、239頁,第110-116頁)。
- (15) 參見翁敏華《韓國,「山台都監系統劇」以及其中的中國文化面影》,《藝術百家》,1997年第3期。
- (16) 越南黎朝吳士連(1422-1497)所著《大越史記全書》卷七《陳記》記載,蒙古將領唆都於元至元二十二年(1285)侵越時,軍中帶有雜劇優人李元吉,曾「作古傳戲,有《四方王母獻蟠桃》等劇」。今天越南史學家通常據以認為劇源於此。

亞太傳統藝術論壇學術研討會 學術研討會
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／廖奔(中國) Dr. Liao Ben (China)

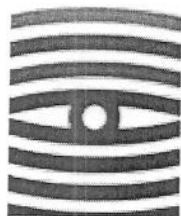
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臺灣傳統漢人村莊的領域界定
Domain of Traditional Taiwanese Village

林會承 (台灣)

Dr. Lin, Hui-Cheng (Taiwan)

行政院文化建設委員會 指導
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臺灣傳統漢人村莊的領域界定

林會承

世界上有許多民族爲了強化其族群心理上的安全感，以其聚落環境爲對象，發展出一些象徵形式或象徵儀式，爲了維持這些形式或儀式所擁有的超自然力量（supernatural power），族群們定期性的舉辦活動，以特殊的聲音、動作（body language）、顏色、圖象等，搭配特定的器物、符號、構造物等，在特定的時間、空間中呈現，以表達他們聖潔的態度。

在民族誌中，可以發現以自然物的圖象爲基礎來安排或營建其生活空間，使得其領域中之不同空間地點擁有特定的意義及價值，爲傳統社會規畫其村落及住屋常見的手法之一。非洲奈及利亞的 Dogon 族人的聚落空間的配置準則爲其中較爲人知的例子。Dogon 人的村落形式有如南北向仰臥之人體，村落之會議屋（council house）位於北端，象徵人之頭部；在村莊之東、西兩個端點上，各有一座有如子宮之圓弧形屋子，象徵手部；公共祭壇位於村莊之南端，象徵腳部；磨坊位於村之中央，象徵女性生殖器；磨坊之周圍爲族人之住屋，象徵人的胸及腹部。除了村莊之外，Dogon 族人也將相同的概念運用於其住屋上。這種以人體器官之相對位置及象徵意義爲規畫的概念在非洲的 Bambaba 族、Cameroon，以及澳洲的土著社會中也有所發現。（Griaule 1965：96ff；Rykwert 1988：178-191）

以人造物之圖象爲其營建村落及住屋之準則的例子也不少，其中以大洋洲東山文化族群，因相信其祖先係乘船移民至此，而將其村落及住屋之平面，甚至於其住屋及棺材之形式塑造成船形較具代表性。屬於此文化的印尼佛洛里斯島（Flores Island）上的拖都（Todo）村的配置狀況，依據人類學者洛克雷濟（Vroklage B.A.G.）的研究，此村莊由兩組相向、呈半圓形狀的住屋群所組成，分別象徵船首及船尾，居住於中央部位的族人被稱爲「檣」及「帆」。島上另外還有村莊被命名爲「帆」或「舵」者。更有趣的是村民們認爲他們係居住於船的社會中，男人結婚後居住於女方家，稱爲「到另一艘船上」。（Lewcock and Brans 1975：112-113）

以圖象來界定空間，意味著原圖象上各元素之功能及意義被投射到土地的相對位置上，透過信仰的力量，原本中性的空間被異化成許多具有不同功能及意義的次空間，這些次空間進一步地成爲當地居民生活行爲之準則之一。

另外的一種表現手法，則是以超自然信仰爲基礎，試圖利用儀式將聚落空間與其外界加以隔開，以遏止外界邪惡力量（evil forces）的入侵。在北印度的一些村落中，當地居民於瘟疫流行時在其村落的外圍畫一圓圈，以防止病魔入侵。（Eliade 1957：49）在臺灣的漢人村莊也有類似的儀式行爲，居民稱之爲「鎮符」。鎮符多舉辦於以王爺爲主公或主神的村落中，而王爺信仰則普遍存在於臺灣中南部地區及澎湖、金門等離島上。

自西元一九八〇年至一九九九年為止，筆者長期性的從事澎湖村莊的研究，期間多次參與不同村莊的鎮符活動。本文即是以王爺信仰為主之村莊中的鎮符活動為基礎，來探討漢人傳統聚落的領域界定的形式與方法。

一、臺灣村莊聚落的一般特徵

「鎮符」如後所述，是一種儀式行爲，卻也是臺灣傳統漢人聚落單元中很重要的一環，與村莊組織密不可分。有關臺灣傳統漢人聚落單元的情形，筆者曾於以下論著中詳細說明：〈澎湖的聚落單元：兼論澎湖的地方自治〉（中研院民族學研究所集刊 81：53-132）、〈澎湖社里的領域〉（中研院民族學研究所集刊 87：41-96）、《藝文資源調查作業手冊（傳統聚落與傳統建築類）》（文建會 1997）、《望安島六聚落之空間與形式建構》（國科會計畫成果報告 1998）、《澎湖縣史館資料蒐集計畫》（澎湖縣立文化中心 1999）。爲了行文上的方便，以下先簡要地描述臺灣傳統漢人聚落的一般特徵，至於其詳細情形，請參考上列論著。

臺灣傳統漢人社會之聚落大體上可區分爲「莊」（社、鄉、村）、「街」及「城」三種基本類型。從社會組織的角度來看，「莊」是基礎單元，「街」有如一至數個莊的結合體，而「城」有如一至數個莊再加上官衙設施所組成。（林會承 1966：6-7）

臺灣傳統漢人村莊聚落單元的社群組織大體上符合「祭祀圈」的概念（參考王世慶 1972：1-38；施振民 1975：191-208；許嘉明 1978：1-10），多以一間宮廟及其內之主公¹爲中心發展而成，二者對外而言，爲全村整體之象徵，代表全體居民與外界之對等單元從事社會交流；對內而言，爲凝聚社群之認同，維護村內秩序、安全、共同利益，以及分派共同事務之核心力量的來源，同時居民以其爲中心發展出各種共同的組織及活動。

就聚落單元之構成而言，臺灣傳統漢人村莊聚落單元多具備有以下四項要素：本身具備有明確的(1)領土及建物、(2)成員、(3)社群組織及活動之外，同時(4)獲得其鄰近地區之對等單元之認同。其情形有如一個獨立自主的國家，本身需具備領土、人民、主權三條件，同時也需擁有外交關係。

就社群組織及活動而言，村莊內多同時擁有官府組織及民間自治組織，其中之民間自治組織，由村民所共同組成，具有深入基層的影響力。臺灣一般漢人村莊居民多透過宮廟及主公，建構「公司」、「董事會」或「委員會」一至二種民間自治組織，同時規畫了許多的社群活動。其中之「公司」或「董事會」爲經常性組織，最具影響力，在一般的情形下，所有的村民均爲

¹ 也稱爲主佛，在廟碑文上也稱之爲鎮殿主神等，即學術報告中常稱的主祀神。

公司的自然成員，需定期性繳交丁口款，以維持全村性活動之運作。

「公司」或「董事會」之組織成員包括數組神職人員及行政人員。其中之一組神職人員在理想的情形下多由一位法長、六至十二位小法仔、每位輿駕（常駐村莊視事）的神祇一位童乩所組成。其中之法長為終身義務職，由資質較佳且認真學習壇法的小法仔陞任，負責教導新進的小法仔，以及指導宮廟之祭祀及儀式行爲，稱爲「扶廟」或「扶宮門」；小法仔以一組或一陣爲單位，待新進成員足以承擔任務後，即可交棒，其負責宮廟經常性的祭祀及儀式行爲；童乩爲神明之替身，由神明挑選，年紀較大之後可請求其神准其退休。宮廟之行政人員有鄉老、小頭家、帳師及廟祝，其中之前二者爲經由推選而得，有一定的任期，後二者爲聘任，無一定的任期。

臺灣傳統漢人聚落單元中，均會舉辦許多的社群活動，依據其舉辦的時間大約可分爲定期性及不定期性兩類。定期性者大約可分爲例月、例年及數年一次三類，前者如每月初一、十五的犒軍及請壇，多由廟祝及小法仔承辦；中間者之數量各村不同，從十數次至三十多次者均有，較普遍者如年初開廟門接神、年底送神、上元鎮符、秋收後平安醮、中元普度、各大神神誕、元月初九天公生、二月初二土地公生、二月十九觀音聖誕、六月十九觀音得道、九月十九觀音出家、交陪廟主公神誕等，多由鄉老及小頭家平均分擔；後者如王醮等大型活動，多由委員會或鄉老會（董事會）統籌辦理。

不定期的活動，如本身或交陪之宮廟之興修、超地域廟主神的出巡、請王、村中發生特殊事件、宮廟小法或新童出禁，以及其它臨時性的祭儀等。

在臺灣傳統聚落單元中，組織與活動是不可分割的，兩者共同凝聚了社群的認同感及向心力。

本文所介紹的主題「鎮符」，即是在臺灣傳統漢人社會特有的體制下，由公司或董事會所舉辦最盛大、最熱鬧而普遍的活動之一。

二、什麼是「鎮符」

「鎮符」或稱爲「鎮五方」、「鎮營頭」、「鎮營」、「踏青草」、「擲竹符」、「遊外社」等。具體地說，在臺灣王爺信仰的村莊，其宮廟的主神多於其村莊周圍安置五組左右的營頭，每一組代表一營的神軍神馬之駐紮。營頭之構件分爲兩類，一類位於營頭周圍，以一、三、五根竹符爲主，其它者尚有臺座（祠廟、石碑等）、烘爐、冬菜甕等；另一類位於宮廟內，包括三十六官將頭及五營令旗。據民間的認知，營頭各擁有數萬神軍及數千神馬，其統帥爲中壇元帥（三太子、李哪吒），而中壇元帥則聽命於各大廟的主神。

鎮符儀式係由願意參加之大神率領其它神明及神轎隊伍、各種儀仗、鄉老、法長、小法仔、童乩、隨隊持香的「隨香」們，由宮廟前出發，小法仔先行到營頭及公設辟邪物前燒香、燒金紙，以及插上象徵神軍及神馬的新竹符，隨後由中壇元帥部署，主公及各大神依次巡視，其它的遊行隊伍則朝著既定的路線前進或暫停駐路旁，多不參與營頭前之儀式；村民則多在其屋前擺設香案供品及點燃鞭炮。在依次環繞村落外圍一周的各營頭及公設辟邪物之後，隊伍再次回到宮廟。鎮符當日黃昏時，由小法仔執行犒軍儀式後，整個鎮符的活動便告一段落。

鎮符儀式舉辦的時機（以澎湖為例）有下列各種：第一、每年農曆年初，特別是元宵節過後舉行例行性的鎮符；第二、除了年頭之外，於每年農曆六或七月底，或是年底再舉行一次鎮符，即一年兩次；第三、分別在農曆元月二十日、六月十八日、十一月十四日，舉行三次；第四、僅於各廟「熱鬧」時才舉行「擲竹符」，所謂的「熱鬧」即修建或重建宮廟、村落舉行慶成醮或平安醮等時機，因而一年可能有數次，或是數年才有一次（曾光棣 1996：76-77）。除此之外，七月及建醮普度、小法仔訓練完成，以及採新童（即被神明選定）後，各村均會舉行鎮符。

鎮符的路線多以下列各者為依據：1、位於村落所有厝之外緣；2、以最短的距離抵達各營頭及公設附屬廟及辟邪物，且盡可能不重複；3、需有現成且夠寬的通路，最好是路面平坦可供神轎隊伍通過，甚至於便於推動安裝車輪的神轎；4、最好能經由村落邊緣之厝前經過；5、能夠以流暢的方向，環繞村落一周。

三、鎮符的緣由

臺灣傳統漢人社會舉辦鎮符活動，依據筆者的分析，係源自於其宇宙觀。具體地說，漢人普遍相信宇宙 (cosmos) 係由他們所居住的物質世界 (material world) 及超自然世界 (supernatural world) 所共同組成，後者概略地說，由代表正義與善意的神、代表邪惡的鬼 (歹物仔)、代表生命轉換的過渡現象的祖先所共同使用。在這兩個封閉但完全重疊、彼此間具有輪迴關係的世界傳遞訊息者為屬於特定宮廟之法長、小法仔及童乩，²或是專業法師、道士等具有超自然能力者。

所謂的鬼 (歹物仔)，來自於民間信仰的認知，臺灣民間相信當一個人死而不得其時、

² 法長、小法仔為望安島居民所採用的名稱，澎湖部分地區稱之為福官頭、福官，由於澎湖人的口音與臺灣者不很相同，有些研究者認為正確的書寫方式為法官頭、法官。前者多為專屬某一宮廟之業餘法師。童乩也稱為「乩童」或「壇下」。

其地、其法，或是女子未嫁而亡、生前魚肉鄉民等情形時，其靈魂將因無法超度而成爲鬼，鬼將漂泊於人世間，導致人世間發生許多不幸的事情。

除了鬼（歹物仔）之外，傳統社會的居民似乎受到不同來源的傳統思想的影響，相信宇宙係由「氣」所構成，天、地、人三者因時、形、坐落及朝向之不同的組合呈現出不同程度的吉氣或凶氣（或稱「煞氣」），這些吉凶可分別透過流年、堪輿（包括陽宅之「看地理」及陰宅之「看風水」）、八字而獲知。另外，依據地方傳說，在人世間，尚有能修練道行與改變外形的妖精，其中以「黑狗精」、「三腳貓」之傳說較多。³

臺灣傳統漢人社會居民的兩個世界觀，使得他們在構築生活環境時，一方面要滿足物質生活的需求，另一方面，也盡其可能地禮遇神祇，同時遵從其指示，以求免於遭到鬼（歹物仔）、煞、妖精之迫害。

在台灣的漢人民間社會中相信鎮符之後，意味著將神軍及神馬部署於村落的四周，如此可以將孤魂野鬼，也就是俗稱的「歹物仔」阻攔於村落之外。至於妖精似乎只能由專業法師、童乩等人來對付。而「煞」，在傳統的觀念中，流年煞及八字命殺均與時間有關，同時可轉換成空間方位，二者可透過時間的流轉，或是改變建築物的方向來化解（Lin 1993：139-149）。地理煞來自地形景觀或人造物，必需興建石塔等大型宗教器物，才能將之化解。

四、鎮符與村莊領域之建構

西元一九九七年八月筆者與學生參與、同時也詳細記載了澎湖望安島中社村的普度後的鎮符儀式。此次鎮符約早晨七點開始，七點半左右鄉老們拜天公，隨後祭拜廟內各神、四方及王船，五分鐘後小法開始訟經請壇（即請神明降臨）。八點左右多位主神紛紛降壇，廟內的鄉民爲童乩穿戴上紅褲、肚兜、令旗、頭巾等，隨後由主神蘇府王爺率董事及委員等朝外跪拜天公、朝內拜主神。五分鐘後，眾人將神像請上轎，各童乩則站於轎後，鎮符隊伍開始依次出發。遊行隊伍由旗隊引導，各神轎隨後、小法仔位於其側，儀仗、七爺八爺、鄉老、法長、隨香形成一列長長隊伍。隊伍先至北營，由小法仔開五營鞭、撒米，於主神指示安置竹符的正確位置及方向後，由廟祝將之釘於地上，隨後由各主神以七星寶劍依次點頂確認。遊行隊伍隨後依次至東營、南營、西營、中營。完成鎮符儀式後，遊行隊伍繼續遊行聚落內之巷道，即所謂的「遶

³ 「三腳貓」的傳說，在澎湖望安島的網垵口、西埔、花宅三社中均有；「黑狗精」的傳說，在望安島的水垵也有。此外，在澎湖本島的大案山及白沙後寮均有黑狗精的傳說（黃有興 1987：150-151）。

境」，以求將歹物仔驅逐出聚落，留給居民一個「乾淨」或安全的生活空間。九點左右，遊行隊伍抵達宮廟，各神明依次入廟，至此，遊行活動暫告一段落。當天下午另有犒軍儀式，也就是將駐紮於村落各處的神軍神將集合於宮廟前，聆聽主神之精神訓話及操練，隨後賜宴招待，禮成後命各營兵馬歸營，負責其轄區之警戒任務。至此鎮符儀式完全的結束。

除了前述的民間信仰的意義之外，鎮符也表達出臺灣傳統漢人村莊聚落單元的領域觀念。依據法長、鄉老、鄉民的說法，在鎮符之後，居民相信此儀式除了於各營頭安置神軍神馬之外，主公神轎所經之路徑也形成一道阻擋孤魂野鬼入侵的防線；其次，這條防線分段由位置接近的營頭負責監管。除此之外，所有村落的鎮符路線所形成的領域界線多呈現封閉狀，但是其形式均極為不規整，換句話說，於鎮符儀式中村民重視的是到達各營頭並將社里環繞一圈，而非領域之形式，這個事實說明了，鎮符儀式之重點在於將村莊的界內與界外分隔開來，領域的形式則非考慮因素。

另一個主要的問題為鎮符所建構的社里領域，在當地居民認知中為一個三度空間的半球體或不規則的立方體，還是二度空間者？或是介於二度及三度空間者？上述的問題似乎不曾存在於當地法長的腦海中，我們得到的印象是主公神轎所經過之處，似未形成具體的物像。換言之，鎮符對居民而言，其所呈現的結果的確以空間為基準，但是這種空間之本質以抽象觀念為主，而非具象的形式。

五、小 節

在一九九六年時，我經常停留在澎湖田野中從事當地聚落單元及領域的研究，也應邀針對當地農村聚落之領域撰寫一篇論文，由於身歷其境，感受也特別深刻，我在文章的最後寫下以下的結語，在本文最後部分我願意借用這段結語，略加修改，來結束這篇論文：

「在傳統社會中，人的生命意義及價值與土地是分不開的，由於社群的根性，使得他們格外地珍惜腳下的家園，縱然是微不足道、生產力薄弱的一小塊，也是唯一得以讓他安身立命之處。然而在浩瀚廣袤的宇宙之中，人的生命卻又是如此的渺小而脆弱，在這種情況之下，村莊保護神對他們而言便格外地重要。從表現的手法上來說，宗教為一種象徵系統，其「透過系統化地陳述一種存在的一般秩序觀念，同時以具有真實感的氣氛為之包裝，使其模式及動機似乎成為獨一無二的事實，以求在人們的心目中建構出充滿活力、普及及永續的模型及動機」（Geertz 1973：91-125），臺灣傳統村莊社會中，透過民間信仰所建構的模型，可能是極為抽象的，如神煞的觀念、各種法術等，也可能是很具象的，如各種象徵物，無論是前者或後者，其模型均自成體系，彼此之間又具有因果的關係。抽象與具象的事務穿插運用，從而編織出一幅

如第三節所描述的宇宙圖像，也使得居民擁有了一個安全的領域。其次，「以象徵形式表達及確認領域，強化了居民對其社群的認知及敏感度」（Cohen 1985：50），居民忠誠地臣服於諸神之下，爲了祈求、酬謝及尊崇神明保佑其生存、安全與發展所設計各種法術及儀式行爲使得居民緊密地結合成一體。透過這些設計，社里領域所具有之意義及價值對澎湖居民而言，不再是一種虛構的情節，而是一種根深柢固的信念。」

（本文綜合整理自筆者之舊作〈澎湖社里的領域〉、《藝文資源調查作業手冊（傳統聚落與傳統建築類）》、《望安島六聚落之空間與形式建構》、〈漢民族空間模型之建立概說〉）

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Domain of Traditional Taiwanese Village

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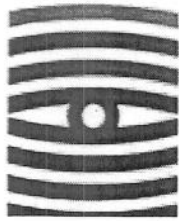
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亞太傳統藝術論壇

Asia-Pacific Traditional Arts Forum

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高棉傳統建築的變革

Evolution of Khmer Vernacular Architecture

沙惹·列可(柬埔寨)

Dr. Sareth Lek (Cambodia)

行政院文化建設委員會 指導
Directed by the Council for Cultural Affairs,
The Executive Yuan, R.O.C.

國立傳統藝術中心籌備處 主辦
Hosted by the Preparatory Office of
National Center for the Traditional Arts

國立藝術學院 承辦

Plan for the symposium on the Evolution of the Khmer Architecture

Dr. Sareth Lek

I - Environment, Geographical and Ecological Evaluation of Cambodia

Cambodia is one of the countries in Southeast Asia and lies between 10 to 15 degrees north of the Equator and 102 to 108 longitudes East. It is bordered by Vietnam to the East and to the South, Thailand to the North and Northwest, and Laos to the Northeast. Two thirds of the country is flat and drains into the Mekong River.

The total of territory is about 181 035 square kilometers and can be divided into two geographical regions: (1) the mountains, highlands, plateaus and (2) the central plain.

The first region includes the two major mountain chains known as the Elephant and Cardamons mountains along the western and northern boundaries. In general the mountains are densely forested and largely unpopulated save for a few minority groups.

The second region covers about one third of the country and supports 90% of population. It has four different ecosystems: a- the riverbanks, b- the lowlands, c- the upper terrace and d- the Great Lake plain around the Tonle Sap.

The Climate is tropical monsoon and it is characterized by two seasons: rainy season from May-October and dry season November-April. The temperature is between 27-35 degree Celsius. In 1999 the Population is estimated to be around 12 million.

II - A brief history of Temples

The Khmer people have an ancient history, having occupied the area that is referred to as Cambodia since the beginning of recorded history some 4,000 years ago. The earlier parts of this history are still obscure. Cambodia traces its origins back to the union of a foreign and a local naga-princess, whose father ruled a water-drenched land. According to the one version of the story a Brahman named Kaundiya married the princess. The king and princess built a capital and changed the name of country (Nokor Phnom) to Kambuja. The achievement of Khmer Temples Architecture

has started from the beginning of the history of Nokor Phnom until the departure from Angkor in 15 century. The Khmer Temples can be divided by their style, the style is the name of the principle Temple such as :

- 1- Phnom Da Style- from 1st to 6th century.
- 2- Sambo Style- in mid of 1st to 7th century.
- 3- Preikhmeng Style- in mid of 2nd to 7th century.
- 4- Kampong Preah Style- in 8th century.
- 5- Kulen Style – in 9th century.
- 6- Preah Ko Style – in 9th century.
- 7- Phnom Bakheng Style – at the end of 9th century and the beginning of 10th century.
- 8- Koh Ker Style – in 10th century.
- 9- Pre Rup Style- in 10th century.
- 10- Bantey Srei Style – in mid of 10th century.
- 11- Kheing Style – at the end of 10th century and in 11th century.
- 12- Bapuon Style – in mid of 11th century.
- 13- Angkor wat Style – in mid of 12th century.
- 14- Bayon Style – in mid of 12th century and beginning 13th century.

According to the significant period of evolution of architecture, the Khmer Temples can be divided into two principle periods: Pre Angkor Period an Angkor Period.

*** Pre-Angkor Period (1st-8th century)**

The earlier period of Cambodian history as largely based upon Chinese dynastic histories. Nokor Phnom (Funan) was said to be founded in the south of Cambodia in the vicinity of Angkor Borei where numerous of artifacts have been recovered. There is ample evidence that they entered into trade relations with both India and China through the port city of Oc-Eo.

In actuality the cultural transformation of ancient Khmer was understandably complex, involving both the traditions of India, including Sanskrit, Hinduism and Buddhism, and the traditions of Cambodia such as Khmer, local mythology and folk religion. The various design features can examine the evolution of Khmer architectural tradition: plan, elevation, building materials, decorative motifs and placement.

- Structure and Design:

Typically such structures are square or rectangular in plan with plan walls, framed by pilasters. Certain temples elaborated upon the simple square plan by addition of projections. In some case a vestibule appears in front of the main cell, but regardless of these variations the superstructure of the primary cell served as the focus of the structure. The superstructure of the square plan was usually a staged pyramid. Occasional octagonal structures are also known, their superstructures roughly resembling those of simple, square prasats. Significant among such early structures of this stage are: Prasaf Preah, Banteay prei Nokor, Sambor Prei Kuk and Wat Phu's Prasat Baran.

The temples of this period are usually located on raised ground in low-lying regions, on the mountain, and usually in valleys. The majority is roughly oriented to the east, but these are notable exceptions reflecting topographically considerations or the interrelationship of one structure to another. Each temple typically stood alone, but groups of two or three or more were frequently found aligned in haphazard fashion that suggests spontaneous expansion.

Noteworthy is clear correlation between interior space and exterior form. Architects employed the corbelled vault for narrow entrances and a series of successive drums to support the superstructure. The interiors of such domed areas were typically masked by a low ceiling formed of perishable materials, which have long since disappeared.

- Fabric:

The architecture of the Pre-Angkor period was fashioned largely of brick, and feature stone in an accessory role around the doors and windows. The decorative motifs are identifiable by their relative simple shapes. Over time their forms and placement become increasingly sophisticated, reflecting their less squat proportions.

The structures seem to have survived because of the durable materials used. With the exception of certain city walls, bridges, or public works these structures are largely religious in character. Since practically all the secular, and much of the religious architecture was wood it has perished, leaving little information about its design or appearance. It is only through its stucco

representation on brick walls and in stone bar-reliefs that conclusions can be drawn of the influence that the wooden structures had on those fashioned from the more permanent materials.

In brick construction, bricks were laid in courses, often with no mortar and were held in position through the combined application of friction and a kind of vegetable-derived adhesive, for which the recipe has long since been lost. The joints were virtually invisible and still seem to be able at some level to resist collapse, the bricks ultimately splitting before giving way at the joints. The lateral joints are less solid, presumably due to insufficient lateral pressure and the carelessness with which the individual bricks were bonded. Vertical fractures are therefore not uncommon. Bricks were sometimes carved after being placed and covered with a plaster-like substance which permitted the chiseling of a decoration that was probably also polychrome.

Apart from the bricks employed in the Pre-Angkor period, laterite was found throughout Cambodia. It was a common building material. In the early developmental stages local sandstone was reserved for decorative colonettes, door and window frames, lintel and limited carving, over time its use increased until the building of some of the great temples of the Angkor group.

Samples of significant feature of some temples:

Prasat Sambor Prei Kuk- the structures were built separately in group with the rectangular and octagon plan, on the same terrace in the reign of Iscanavarman I. The Temple was built for the symbol of religion represented by Linga (Civa), faced to the East. The main body materials were brick, decorated by sand stone door and window frames, lintel and colonnetes. Laterite were used to built wall of the side, and wood was used for door. The stucco were used to decorate exterior surface. The decoration elements were false door, pilaster, lintel and colonnete decorated with vegetation carving.

* Angkor Period

The Angkorian history commences in the year 802, the date associated with Jayavarman II's consecration as "Universal Emperor" at Angkor region. By the 9th century a powerful civilization had emerged, with its capital variously located at series localities in the Angkor region. An advanced system of irrigation from the Tonle Sap and the Mekong River was developed at that time which

provided the basic for a flourishing realm. The Temples in Angkor period can be selected by its significance and date as below:

Prasat Bakong and Preah Ko, significant among the developments at Roluos are the single prasats aligned systematically in groups of six or eight and raised on a laterite platform. The individual cells were fashioned of brick and complemented by pseudo-functional emendations in sandstone (colonettes, lintels, niches etc.).

By this period temples with a single redent on each face predominate, and rectilinear plans are reserved for accessory structures such as libraries and galleries, which begin to be produced in stone. The simple cell temple such as those encountered at Roluos typically consists of a central body and a superstructure of four stories of diminishing sizes. The principal cell exhibits three false doors and one true one that generally opens to the east unless its relationship to the other structures necessitates some adjustment to this general rule.

The interpilasters are characteristically provided with niches carved from stone and featuring the unframed head of the divinity housed within. Miniature edifices vanish from the decorative vocabulary of the architect and the superstructures become more elongated with niches dramatically featured on each story. Noteworthy among the architectural innovations of this period are gopura and libraries.

A significant development at Roluos is that each group of structures was surrounded by concentric enclosures. Whole enclosures were known as early as Banteay Prei Nokor, those at Roluos are the first to be fashioned in a concentric arrangement: the two inner ones of laterite with true and false gopuras at each entrance; and an outer enclosure consisting of a moat and an earthen embankment with a wooden palisade.

Supplementary buildings were positioned within the second enclosure. Such design innovations ultimately combine with the later abandonment of the terrace pyramid to create a pseudo-terraced structure fashioned from concentric galleries.

The first terrace pyramid which first appeared at Mahendraparavata (Phnom Kulen) and possibly at Amarendrapura (Ak Yom), is given particular prominence, as exemplified by the architectural triad comprised of Phnom Bakheng, Phnom Bok and Phnom Krom, each of which was built upon natural hill site. Not only does the quincunx arrangement of the crowning superstructure of towers introduced at Phnom Bakheng establish a popular pattern for some time to come, but its

greater size and complexity initiates a period of architectural experimentation. At Bakheng the sandstone prasat is reinterpreted as decorative element, dramatically marking the apex. Additionally, its laterite terraces are entirely faced in sandstone. Baksei Chamkromg introduced the idea of more slender proportions and an exaggerated angle of repose.

Prasat Banteay Srei can be presented as the architectural magnificent structure of this style. On the one hand it exhibits certain features of the structural group at Koh Ker and anticipates the fluidity and refined proportions more typically associated with the classic style. The structures display a variety of plans. Some are simple cell prasats isolated as at Lak Nan, aligned in groups of three as at Bat Chum. Elevated on a high terraced pyramid such as Baksei Chamkrong, or arranged in quincunx on a terraced pyramid as at Mebon or Pre Rup. Still other structures like Preah Vihear, located in the Dangreeks, integrate variations of all these different designs into a single axial plan pitched on a high promontory. The decorative tendencies of this period are less noteworthy, largely reflective of an attempt to expand upon an earlier vocabulary of form developing a newer, more innovative character. The simple arch motif of the formative period reappears in a complex arrangement of frontons positioned over temple entrances (Banteay Srei) in anticipation of their reinterpretation under Jayavaarman VII as frames for the Lokesvara faces which dominate the temple and gopura prasats.

Banteay Srei marked the end of the plastered brick prasat, these structures being largely fashioned of laterite with an extended use of sandstone for decorative purposes. Brickwork was greatly reduced. Significant among the constructional developments was the introduction of timber beams, previously used as lintels to support the masonry across openings. They were set flush in channels cut into the sandstone blocks to avoid their intrusive impact on the aesthetic qualities of the structure. Noteworthy among the boldly arched frontons positioned over the doorways, each intricately carved with scenes from the Ramayana or with vegetal ornamentation.

Prasats Takeo, Kleang and Phimeanakas were among the significant temples of this period. Significant aspects of this period are the continued construction of terraced pyramids, which consistently sustained sandstone prasats: the development of stone vaulted galleries and the creation of cruciform gateways at the temples cardinal directions. The primary orientation was generally to the east and decoration can be characterized as being more refined than its antecedents.

Baphoun represents a further step on the development of the Khmer temple, with its multiple terraced and concentric galleries (second and fifth terraces) and attendant gopuras and corner pavilions.

The most significant Temple in this period was Angkor Wat that was built in the reign of Suryavarman II, who was as great a builder as he was a religious reformer. Among the several structures credited to him are the temples of Preah Pithu, Chausay Tevoda, Thommanon, Banteay Samre, and , of course the crowning glory of Khmer architectural tradition, Angkor Wat. After the Baphoun the terraced pyramid temple seems to have gone into a decline, being replaced by the temples whose concentric arrangement of enclosures and galleries permitted the effect of a mountain temple or Mt Meru without the complex engineering of multiple terraces. Significant is the importance still placed upon arranging the primary prasats in quincunx (Angkor Wat) and the eastern orientation (Chausay Tevoda; Thommanon; Banteay Samre). The roofing materials of these structures tended to be of light perishable materials such as tiles.

Angkor Wat illustrating a significant number of changes evidenced in the structures of Beng Mealea and Preah Palilay. Beng Mealea was largely a training group for the ultimate culmination of the style exhibited at Angkor Wat. Here the three inner enclosures were tied together with an intricate system of galleries, somewhat simplified later when intergraded into the design of Angkor Wat. The galleries were vaulted in stone and supported by stone pillars on laterite bases. The enclosing of wooden beams within sandstone doorframes was abandoned. The principal innovation was the development of the cruciform terrace, interrupted the axial causeways and consisted of two levels, reflecting its ultimate function like a platform for the public appearances of king and his court. The whole would have been surrounded with a naga balustrade.

While the galleries at Beng Mealea are significant wider than its antecedents and vaulted entirely with stone with a solid wall on one side and pillars on the other, they were poorly constructed. The lesson learned here enabled the fabrication of the sandstone-vaulted galleries of Angkor Wat with its extensively sculpted reliefs that are featured in the third gallery, and for which the structure has gained considerable renown. The cruciform covered gallery, which served to connect the galleries of different terraces seems to have evolved from the bi-level cruciform terrace anticipated in the preceding period.

The last style of the Angkor period was in the reign of Jayavarman VII. It was the frenetic building campaign of Jayavarman VII which has left us the majority of architectural evidence for the Angkor period. While it is difficult to ascertain the number and the variety of structures that might have been destroyed in the wake of his creative explosion, it is clear that the temples, hospitals, chapels and countrywide infrastructure are ample testimony to the height of Cambodia aesthetic and engineering acumen.

Noteworthy among such achievements is the magnificent Bayon temple and its affiliated counterparts, Preah Khan and Ta Prom. Additional note should be paid to the small but delightful structure of Neak Pean and its surrounding water tank. The vast number of works sponsored by his ambitious ruler was a culmination of all developmental increments that preceded them. Ultimately products of Jayavarman VII's reign must be regarded as the flowering of Khmer architectural tradition as well as the start of its decline.

*** After Angkor Period**

The period after the reign of Jayavarman VII (1220) underlines the end of an era and the end of the massive building campaign. It also marks the beginning of the ultimate decline of the Khmer empire, the dissolution of its various territories and the commencement of period of unrest. In 1432 King Pongneayat moved the capital from Angkor to Phnom Penh.

There is no clear information on the Khmer architecture after the decline of Angkor until the French came (1863). The basic information on the Khmer architecture is upon the " Words " that were told from grand parents to grand children. Instead of using the durable old traditional materials and methods of construction to build the temples, the Khmer used perishable materials like wood and clay tiles to build religious structures like pagodas. But the shape and the form of the buildings are still unsure. Later the Khmer started to use new materials like cement and concrete mixed with former materials to build structures. One significant structure of this period is the Stupa on the top of Wat Phnom, that was built during the reign of King Pongneayat.

III- Images of Khmer Architecture from ancient carving and drawings

*** From the Temples**

To record the technique, methodology of construction, life style and other events of that time, the Khmer ancestors used carving art on the wall of temples. The valuable pictures from the carving walls of the Bayon Temple could provide a lot of information and some information and ideas on the buildings in Angkor period. They also kept their records on black painted skin of deer and wrote with hard and white soil. But unfortunately these records have disappeared.

On the report of the Chinese envoy, Chev Tavkvan, he observed that the royal residence, residences of the high officers, and the residences of rich people were facing to the East. They were large and different from those simple people. The Royal Palace covered with lead tiles. Other residences were built from wood, and covered with clay tiles. The pillars and doorframes were decorated with carving or painting. Clay tiles also covered Vihears of pagodas.

The dwellings of simple people were built from wood and covered by woven thatch or palm leaf. The size of dwellings depended on the affluence of owners, but never bigger than those of the high classes. One, two and three continuous gables were used. According to the climate and environment in the warm and humid atmosphere of tropical countries, the dwellings were built raised off the ground and perched on stilts. In every village there was one pagoda or one temple.

The carved walls of the Bayon temple showed several kinds of buildings, shelter or hut that were built from the local materials like: wood, thatch, straw and leaf of tree, They range from the simple to complicated shape, form, and decoration. The roof shape has important elements of architecture and later became the style for Khmer houses.

- Simple roof shape (gable or Khmer) covered with woven thatch, or straw, or palm leave. The pillars were big if compared with the span of structure, and started directly from raised ground.
- For long shelters the simple roof shapes were the same, but were constructed in different levels. In general a high-level roof started from middle.
- Sometimes structures had cross shape form roof, a little bit curved at the edge. Pillars looked big and decorated with capital.
- Some had staircase up to the floor level.

*** From the Pagodas,**

After the 15-century the stone, laterite and the old brick huge structures were no more represented. The local and traditional materials like: wood with new brick and cement were used as the main materials of Khmer architecture. For religion and society purposes the ancient Khmer designed and built pagodas instead of temples. To record or describe stories of Buddha or Ramayana, or any legend stories, the Khmer used paintings on walls and on ceilings of the Vihear (main building in Pagoda). Only a few wall paintings of about hundred or two hundred years old can be found, but in bad condition. Many older paintings maybe existed, but have not survived to present day, because of perishable materials and lack of preservation. Along with stories, the paintings also presented several kinds of houses.

Simple gable roofs were almost same shapes as in the Angkor period. The structures were built on raised platforms in high land and on stilts in low land and on the riverbanks. The continuous gable roof form of structures was very common. Some structures were shown an evolution of new roofs by adding small roofs below and along main roofs, or some time small roofs were built around main roofs. The idea of adding small roofs is reasonable, because they provided more shade to the houses, and protection from rain.

IV- Khmer Beliefs about house building

Besides Buddhist and Hindu beliefs, the Khmer ancestors had their animist beliefs about natural forces, and they thought that all nature had abstract soul and abstract effective forces. They choose stone block assuming the representative of natural force that they respected and called it as Neakta. There were Water Neakta, Soil Neakta, Fire Neakta, Air Neakta, Mountain Neakta, and so on. Aside from Neakta, Nature also was the representative of ancestors who had passed away, but they still looked after and provided goodness and happiness to the villagers, like Red Neck Neakta. The religion of Neaktaism is not further developed, because it was preliterate, but it continues to live on in Khmer heart, and became a Khmer traditional belief. At present Cambodia is known as the Buddhist culture, but in reality the Khmer mix Buddhism with other traditional beliefs such as Brahmanism and animism. These beliefs have become a practical concept of Khmer life and even in the architecture. Because of the location of Cambodia in monsoon tropic and because of the rich fertile soil, Cambodia is traditionally an agrarian country, that could not be disconnected from water. These Khmer beliefs influence the following principles in architecture and construction:

* Selecting materials for house buildings

The selection of material here means the selection of wood for pillars, because pillars were the main support element of the Khmer house. Wood was the only one practical material (organic and local) in all constructions in former times, excepted the temples. Because Khmer land was richly forested (easy to find) and because of Khmer religious beliefs the selection of wood was very common. At present time because of shortage of wood and because of new materials of construction, the beliefs have nearly disappeared in urban areas. The following are the main taboos and restraints of wood selection:

- Chheu Pomsambork- has bark that goes into sapwood, it will bring bad luck to the owner.
- Chheu Konlorng- has four or five eyes at same level, that will cause chronic disease.
- Chheu Chrouk Trados- has eye at about .50 m from ground that can be rubbed by wild pig. It will bring bad luck.
- Chheu Voirpoit- is surrounded by vine, reach into the sapwood. It will bring bad luck.
- Chheu Prohongknong- is hollow from bottom to top. It is not strong enough.
- Chheu Touldangkut- is a wood that according to traditional belief after cutting stays on its cutting base.

* Location

The location of a dwelling in a lot was an important point that the Khmer ancestors have passed down to new generations. For that reason earth testing must be done. If the earth has a sour taste, it is bad, fortune will depart from this place. If the earth tastes sweet, the place is ordinary and suitable for habitation. If it is bitter, those who stay will not prosper. If it is salty, catastrophe awaits.

Orientation is also essential. The entrance of a house usually faces east to reflect as human life cycle. The east is associated with good luck. Logically it allows sunlight to enter and warm house in morning, and avoids heat in late afternoon. In general house front plays more important role than the rear.

Once the location and orientation were selected the following points must be avoided in the placement of houses:

- Not to place house on the axis of the lot.
- Do not place the house on a cart way.

- Do not place the house in front of a Vihear.
- Dyke or levee in a rice field should not be directly to the front of houses.
- Do not have a Ampil Tree in the south of the house.
- Do not have a water well in the west of houses.

* Design function

Spans or spaces play a very important role in the function for the Khmer design. The Khmer designed and built these spaces at different levels depending on the function of each room. They organized the spaces of house as followings:

- Lveng Kamsanchet- is a space for guests, and also place for placing music instruments.
- Lveng Keovineah- is a gallery or space where the foods and fruits were displayed,
- Lveng Chhan- is a room for the parents,
- Lveng Bangkanmeas- is a room for unmarried daughter,
- Kitchen- is a place for cooking and food storing,

* Incantation (Kanseng Yon)

Kanseng Yon is a piece of red cotton cloth (size about 0.45m x .045) which has different designs and writing. The owner of the new house must asked the Achar (a person who knows the traditional Khmer rules and principles) to design a Kanseng Yon, and put it on the middle of the long beam whenever the house was erected. The Khmer believe that when they fix the Kanseng Yon on the beam of the house, it will protect from looters, fire, visible enemies, sickness and ghosts.

* Propitious month construction

The Khmer have one calendar that is governed by the orbit of the moon and another one governed by the orbit of the sun. The calendar is divided into twelve months. Khmer New Year is Cetre (13 of April and some time 14 of April).

Before starting to build a house the owner requests an Achar to prescribe the date of erection of the house. The propitious months of construction are some time a little bit different from one

region to another depending on the principles of Achar. The following are propitious and not propitious months construction:

- Cetre- is not favorable, because will be a bereavement.
- Pisark-is favorable, you will increase the gold and money.
- Chhesd-, is not favorable, you will lose gold , money and there will be a bereavement.
- Assade- is not favorable, you will lose or be deprived of wealth.
- Srap- is favorable, you will be happy and wealthy.
- Peaktrabouth- is not favorable, there will be disease.
- Assochh- is not favorable, there will be conflict or dispute.
- Kadeck- is favorable, wealth will come.
- Mekasse- is favorable, friends and wealth will come.
- Bost- is favorable, gold and money will come.
- Meak- is not favorable, there will be a fire.
- Phalkun- is favorable, good luck will come.

So that in a year only six months are favorable to construct house and other six months are not favorable to building house.

Once the month has been chosen, the date must be set: Sundays, Tuesdays, and Saturdays are not favorable. On Wednesday was believed that "one is fully favored by luck". On Thursday "one is happily resting" and Monday "bring luck" but only if the construction is finished in two days. Friday is neutral "happiness and unhappiness are equal".

* Ceremonies starting construction

Krong Pili is a ceremony starting to assemble the house. This belief is come from the one story and many Khmer still strongly believe in it.

After having the date of erecting of a house from Achar, the owner of new house asks carpenters to bring and lay the three central pillars to the center of lot, by raising head of pillars with a piece of wood. Then they started the Krong Pili with the following things: four Chhorms, one tray dessert (four plates), one tray food (four plates), one pair of perfume bottles , one pair of Sla and cigarettes, one pair of candlesticks, one shirt and one pair of trouser. The cosmetic: one mirror, one comb, one bowl of water, and one pot of powder. Making one Pe Mouy Rourt (about 0.50m) for

placing four Pe Chhromos Chruk at four corners, and one small, round Pe putting in the middle. Then the Achar recites a prayer of wish to the owner. The owner also digs a hole(size proportion to the size of Pe, and 0.20m dept) about 0.50m from the south pillar, for placing the Pe. After that the Acharr covers the Pe and recites another prayer. After this process they start to erect the pillars. After erecting the house, woman are not allowed to enter. The woman can only enter after ceremony to move into the house.

* Assembly techniques

There were two methods of house erection (depending on the size and complexity of the house):

- For the small size and simple house the carpenters first needed to plane wood and cut wood to the right size for all elements and joints. Example: head pillar where joined with rafter and beams needed to make mortise and tenon joint and dovetail halving joint . Then to assemble and to fix pillars and width beams. The pillars could be erected by two ways: a- directly into ground with depth about one meter, and b- raised on a concrete stand. After fixed pillars and width beams they placed them in the right place. For the erection day was started early in the morning. The owner needed extra man forces from the men villagers to help the carpenter group. After Krong Pili ceremony was finished they started to erect the assemble pillars step by step from east to west or from south to north. This erection of pillars must be finished in one day. Then they could assemble all the rest.
- For big or complicated house, the carpenters also needed to plane to cut by right size of elements and joints, but they would erect one pillar by one pillar. In this situation the main thing was the main pillar (sasar kanlorng). They placed the main pillar in the right place before the day of erection. The head of main pillar was covered by clothes tied with sugarcane and small banana tree, and sometimes was shaded by an umbrella. The main pillar must be erected first then the other pillars can follow. They tried as much as possible to erect all pillars in daytime, because they believed that the dragon slept during day time and at night time the dragon comes out and provides the prosperity to the people.

* Ceremony to move to live in a new house (Leung Pheh)

when the construction of the house was finished, the owner must request Achar again to prescribe the date of moving to the house. The things for this ceremony are: one tray of food, one tray of dessert, one bag of unhusked rice, fruit, vegetable, weaving tools. Agriculture tools: one common knife, one sickle, one woven basket, one small round basket. Clothes: one trunk, one shirt, one hat, one umbrella. Jewelry: necklace, bracelet, ring. Cosmetic: powder, perfume, mirror, scissors, razor. Sleeping things: one mat, one mattress, one pillow, one mosquito net, sla and cigarettes, one clay pot of water, one box of sla, rice, horn tusk, one conch, one coconut covered with golden color sheet, one wax melon covered with golden color sheet, one three color female cat, and a weapon. All these materials should be displayed in front of the house. Achar chooses six ladies with new given names and leads them up to the house. These six given names were: 1- Neang Srey for luck carried a clay pot of water, 2- Neang Rath for happiness carried sla and cigarettes, 3- Neang Sour Sdey for prosperity carried clothes, 4- Neang Keo for gold and silver carried jewelry, 5- Neang Kong for long life carried mat and pillow, and 6-Neang Chhey for victory carried horn tusk. Other participants carried the rest materials and made a procession to new owner three times around the house before they climbed into the house. After they were all in the house, they did a process to provide food to spirit of their grand parents and Preah Phoum who was proprietor of water and land. Then Achar took white cotton thread put into cosmetic then tied to the hands of the couple of the house with a blessing. The materials that they brought into the house would be placed in different places and direction: furnace in the east, umbrella in the southeast, rice and smoking tobacco in the south, conch in the southwest, common knife and sharpen stone in the west, tusk and metal in the northwest, unhusked rice in the north, cat and pregnant lady in the northeast, and mat, alcohol, weapon in the middle of the house. At six O'clock they invited 4 or 5 monks to pray to finish the ceremony of moving to the new house.

V- The types of house according to the landscape

* In the river basin

The environment is strong influence to the style of living. Two third of Khmer population are living in the river basin. The houses that could be found in this area are perched on stilts. The stilts of early houses were put deeply into ground about one meter. The wood for stilts was good quality,

strong and resistant to water, humidity and termites. The stilts usually were round with diameter 0.2m to 0.25m or square (0.15m x 0.15m, 0.2m x 0.2) depending on the size of houses. First they started to dig holes and then make compact with stone. Before placing stilts into hole they dried bottom of stilts with smoke to protect them from humidity and termites. The height from ground to floor are different, in general the height is about 2.5m.

Ground under floor is raised about 0.2m higher than surrounded terrace. This area is very useful and is divided into two parts. One part with one bed for eating meals, for sleeping during mid day, and for neighbors chatting. After the farming season they had additional jobs. Some family used to weave cloth from silk or cotton, and weave thatch or palm leave for roof cover, and weave baskets for local use. Families near the Mekong or Bassac river used this space for chopping tobacco. Another part is used to keep ox cart and agriculture tools. Sometimes they kept this part as stable for oxen.

Some families that make palm sugar as their additional work usually built an oven in the front corner of the house.

Kitchen was built behind the house. Sometimes kitchen was perched on stilts about 1m from ground, and some time on raised ground. Stable for oxen or cattle were built in a corner behind the house.

Time changes and life style is also changes. In urban areas much more than in the country side, lots are small and expensive and the city dwellers have quite different jobs: work as office staff, traders, businessmen. Houses were organizing different organized: brick and concrete are common materials for housing while wood house are becoming less practical. Houses perched on stilts are also not found more in the cities. Houses are built on raised ground, and first floor play important role: for business or living.

* Along the river bank,

This type of houses is found along riverbanks that are raised as road for people's communication. During flooding time, water raises up about 0.5m below surface of road. Front of houses faces to road and is connected to sidewalk of road by a platform. There is no additional staircase. Of course houses were perched on stilts. Height of houses is from ground level until level

of road. Ground floor is not important and temporary used for storage tools during dry season. People who live in this area are farmers in dry season and fishers in flooding season. They used boat for fishing and communicating in flooding season. In general the kitchen is connected to houses at different level: about 0.2m lower than floor of houses.

* In mountainous area

These area are still undeveloped. Houses are small, with gable roof shape and are constructed with local materials like: wood, bamboo used as pillars and beams, strip of bamboo or strip of plank wood used as floor. Woven thatch, leaf of tree, and straw are used for roof cover, and vine used to tie joints. Lightweight materials: wood plank or plated leaves are used to make walls. People there live by farming on their small field, and sometimes hunting or fishing. There were two types of houses:

- directly raised on ground- floor is about 0.5m from ground, and is used as sleeping room and eating place. Ground floor is practically used as working place. Kitchen is built directly on ground. Houses general surround by fruit trees and vegetable garden.
- perched on stilts- height about 2m-2.5m, ground floor not as much important as houses in the basin area. No significant styles or decorations are used.

VI-The Evolution of the shape and form of the houses

There are several styles of Khmer houses. The roof shapes and proportion of house once defined the styles. It was started from simple gable shape to complicated hip shape.

* Khmer style

The first style was Khmer style that defined from the proportion of form and gable roof shape. The Khmer had divided size of house such as: 11 units (1 unit = 1 hath = 0.5m), 12 units, 13 units 14 units and 15 units. The proportion must be one measurement wide, two measurements long, and two measurements height. The khmer roof has significant of Penuk (hip roof continues from gable in front and back of house). This style is represented the temple.

* ROUNG

The second style is ROUNG (Chinese immigrants called Kantaing). It is simpler than Khmer style. The shape of roof and size of house is almost the same, except the height is only one and half measurement, and there has not Penuk in front or rear of house. This style was defined when the country was not stable and people need to have urgent house to live, did not much considered about detail. Reducing roof height is also reducing materials for construction. This style is popular for simple people.

* ROUNG DOL

Life is changed, the need persuades evolve the style of house. The style is called ROUNG DOL, because the mid rafter is pushed from the main rear pillar. The form and proportion is the same, but the roof is changed. The rear side is added and covered by roof slope in the form of awning. This space is used for keeping oxen cart and farming tools.

* ROUNG DEUNG

The experience of having one side of awning is more practical so the khmer tried to have both sides: front and rear. They called it as ROUNG DEUNG because they use this space to keep a large foot-powered mortar and pestle (Tbal Kdeung). In general many parts of Cambodia Tbal Kdeung is placed in front of house. The size and proportion of this style are not changed.

* PET

The last style is Pet (or hip form). The roof of Pet is a little simpler than ROUNG DEUNG, while the size and proportion rest the same. This style is very common used with any new architectural form and new materials of construction.

* French Colonial houses

Big changes have happened since the French came to Cambodia in 1863. New concepts, new styles and new materials of construction have been presented. The main materials of construction are brick, concrete, wood, glass, steel, clay tile, cement floor tile. There is three major types of building can be seen for city dwellers: Public buildings, residential buildings, and Chinese district buildings. Several provinces like: Battambang, Kompong Cham, Kompong Chhang, Siem Reap, especially Phnom Penh have been witness to this phenomenon.

- Public buildings such as Central Market (concrete work in the style Art Deco style. It is comprises of four wings arranged in a cross plan, supporting a central dome which is forty- five meters high) , Post Office, Railroad Station, National Bank, Courthouse, City Hall, Hospital, Library, Treasury, and Cathedral.
- Residential buildings are large villas originally for French citizens residing in Cambodia. These spacious two-story square houses and were often surrounded by lush gardens with tall trees. The facades were decorated with glass awnings; large windows framed with stucco pattern, and grand balustrade staircases. To drain rain water, mid-height cornices and bandeaus were used. The clay tiles "fish scales" were used to cover the roofs.
- Chinese shops- the Chinese quarter developed as result of the former strong presence of Chinese merchants in the city. The architectural form expresses its dedicated business functions. The aligned houses in brick with clay tile roofs are characterized by a long rectangular space, measuring up to twenty-five meters in depth for a façade measuring only three-four meters. The buildings have two levels. The ground floor opening to the road, houses the shop. It extends to the edge of the road as a pedestrian space covered by awning and lined with the arches, perfect for wandering and conducting business, shaded from the sun and the rain. Background are used as workshop or storerooms. The apartments are located upstairs, behind big windows with wooden shutters, under the coolness of pitched tile roofs.

VII-The impacts of outside influences and modernization on Khmer Architecture

*** Houses after 1970**

- From 1970- 1975 Cambodia was in an unstable situation, no major development in architectural field occurred, only a few types of house were favored: two-story gable roof on the main part and connected to small gable roof in veranda front of house.
- And from 1975-1979 Cambodia was closed during the Khmer Rouge. The country was severely destroyed during this regime. Several types of buildings were built for community: dwelling for new spouse and warehouse for keeping rice. The quality of these buildings were very poor, because no skill, no experience, no qualified people participated.
- From 1979-1993 life started with bare hand. Many people needed to set up their house wherever and with whatever they could afford. The anarchic house spread very fast, especially in the city. Step by step normal life comes back. Some people, who have money, started to build their house with the old type left from the past. The materials were wood with clay roof tiles and zinc sheet in the countryside, and concrete, brick, with clay roof tiles in the city. Because of many reasons: lack of qualified people, lack of experience and lack of materials the houses were of bad quality.

* Present houses

From 1993 the new Government was created, many immigrant Khmer from USA, France, Australia, Thailand,returned to Cambodia. Foreign tourists, investors and businessmen from USA, France, Australia, England, Germany, Canada, Japan, China, Thailand, India, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, Vietnam also have been presented. The young qualified Khmer started to get into career. In this time the Khmer culture meets a big impact from foreign culture. Because of the loss of national identification (long civil war) and the lack of experience the buildings were started from something was called "mixture". These buildings can be found mainly in the city: some are mixed with Thai influence, Japanese influence, Chinese influence, Europe influence, and American influence.

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Evolution of Khmer Vernacular Architecture

／沙惹·列可(柬埔寨) Dr. Sareth Lek (Cambodia)

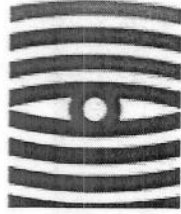
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哈薩克傳統音樂論

Type of Culture and Traditional Music of the Kazakh

古薩答·歐瑪洛瓦 (哈薩克)

Dr. Gulzada Omarova (Kazakh)

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TYPE OF CULTURE AND TRADITIONAL MUSIC OF THE KAZAKHS

Gulzada Omarova

Kazakhstan is one of the Asian republics that after the collapse of the USSR in the nineties became an independent state. Due to its wide territory (2717 cubic meters) and its special geographical situation (its boundaries are far outside Central Asia), Kazakhstan is considered to be a separate region of Central Asia. On the West and on the North it borders on Russia, on the Southwest and the South on countries of Central Asia (Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan), on the Southeast on China, on the East on regions of Southern Siberia (Gorno-Altai autonomous region of the Russian Federation).

Being one of the independent territorial units of Central Asia, Kazakhstan at the same time is a medial and connecting link between the largest and culturally independent habitats of the Eurasian continent: between Eastern Europe, Muslim countries of the Middle and Near East, Southeastern Asia and Siberia. So the role of Kazakhstan on the Great Silk Road was exclusive. Due to its geographical situation and historical development, Kazakhstan for thousands of years was "the natural bridge between the East and the West, and its native population was in the very center of migration ways of Eurasia" (1, p.123).

The intermediate situation between Europe and Asia has also been reflected in the Kazakhs' character, which was finally formed in the fourteenth – fifteenth centuries on the basis of the complex interaction of European (indigenous in the time of antiquity) and Mongolian (introduced beginning from the time of the Khuns and further in the Turkic and "Mongolian" time). The heterogeneity is also observed in methods of activities, that are conditioned by natural and climatic conditions of life. In Kazakhstan the basic form of life support during thousand of years was nomadic cattle-breeding peculiar to the region of Central Asia as a whole. Besides, in a number of districts (south, east, northeast) a great place in the total structure of activities was occupied by agriculture that allows speaking of settled way of life of some part of population. The factor of settled way of life as well as a good number of caravan roads and caravanserais on the Great Silk road conditioned the growth of cities on the territory of Kazakhstan in the early and late Middle Ages. Considerable migration processes and the mainline between the West and the East in this region facilitated the penetration into Kazakhstan in different periods of its history of many basic world religions – Buddhism, Zotoastrism, Christianity (Nestorian), Maniheism and Islam.

However, the boundary of the historical and geographical situation of Kazakhstan does not mean an eclectic and mosaic connection of different cultures, particularly, the western and the eastern. On the

contrary, the complexity of ethnogenetic and historical processes on the path to coming-into-being and development of the nation gave birth to originality of its culture.

The typological commonness of the Kazakh culture with cultures of other peoples of Eurasia is determined by the fact that it is a part of nomadic culture of Central Asia, which in its turn a part of Asian culture and wider – of the East. At the time, a number of contemporary culture researchers of Kazakhstan mention that according to the most important outlooks and life characteristics the nomads' culture is antagonistic to both western and eastern cultures (2). The antagonism is first of all expressed by a cardinal difference of the nomadic civilization from the settled and farming one. Despite the said "middle" situation as an "epicenter" of the most important processes in history of many tribes and peoples of Eurasia, the Kazakhstan space, first of all, due to its natural and climatic conditions, is, according to the unanimous opinion of many researchers (and only Kazakh ones), the "cradle" of nomadic culture and the country of classic nomads that was well preserved here up to the beginning of the twentieth century.

The research of the nomadic culture of Central Asia in different fields of contemporary science – economy and law, philosophy and religion, literature and art, esthetics and ethno- psychology allows speaking of namely the **nomads' civilization**, one in a sense of some cultural, historical, spatial and time integrity that makes it different from other known cultural and historical integrity (civilizations) of the West and the East. Since the research of this task only begins, we are, naturally, far in this field from the raising and solving of such global problems of culturology. However, now one may speak of the special position of traditional cultures of nomadic peoples (in particular, Turkic and Mongolian) in general typology of eastern cultures. For our scientific research in the field of traditional music it is necessary to emphasize those **original traits of the nomadic culture**, which had an influence upon development of music within the framework of the most important spheres of life and social institutes of the Kazakh society.

All history of the nomadic life (as a way of life) represents history of not the reformation of nature by the human (western civilization) but *the relationship* of the human and nature that assumed the fluent and natural development, that is evolution, of the human society and culture.

According to many contemporary researchers, this relationship was harmonic, primarily, in a sense that vital activities of a human suited natural conditions of life itself: changing of such conditions (climate, landscape and ecology) in different periods of history of nomadic tribes of Central Asia also caused appropriate changes in types of human's activities. Thus, on the territory of Kazakhstan, historians and archeologists mention the variety of types and forms of activities (according to natural and geographical conditions), and not only in different regions but in particular ones – in different periods of their history. These periods are characterized by appropriate changes in way of life: from the nomadic to the semi-

nomadic, from the semi-settled to the settled – up to the building of well-developed irrigation systems and cities (3).

The utmost adaptability of the nomads to natural conditions, to certain spatial landscape ("A nomad takes the nature-made as a gift" – B. Nurzhanov) caused the unique culture with the system of "waste-free production", in which each thing, the work of humans hands, was extremely **functional**: dwelling, labor instruments, utensil, cloth, weapon etc. The phenomenon of the utmost adaptability and certain "in-building" in the system of natural existence caused the appropriate phenomenon of knowledge of environmental reality. It was presented in the generation-to-generation life experience that had been formed of thousand-year knowledge of nature law and its existence in it. This system of empiric knowledge that has been never used to the prejudice of nature and itself consists of knowledge in the field of geography, astronomy, biology, medicine, ecology, economy, military science, philosophy, law etc.

Development of nomadic communities, the absence of any abrupt revolution changes is characterized in history and culturology by the expressions "preservativeness", "standstill". The total conservatism of the nomadic community is explained by the smooth transition from one "formation" to another, where traits of the pass are still for long preserved in the present and even in the future, one model of a community is gradually transformed into another, thus creating the non-intermittent, through, cyclic development. Scientists state that, as a whole, the way of life, say, of the early nomads – their dwelling, food, forms of social life, law institutes etc, witnessed in the western and eastern ancient written sources are not so different from the way of life of the new time nomads: "the system is genetically identical with itself..." (4, p.40). The age that separates the "early" nomads of Kazakh steppes in ancient time (Saki, Usuni, Khunni, Massagets) from the middle age "classic" (ancient Turkic, Turkic and Mongolian tribes of the sixth – fourteenth centuries) and the "late" ones (Kazakh khanates of the fifteenth – seventeenth centuries) is one **spiral** with history marked "turns", headlong unwound and wound (by the beginning of the twentieth century) in cosmic time – space.

"Obviously, that is why cultures of nomadic peoples have the astonishing inner integrity predetermined primarily by the spatial and chronological **succession** of material and spiritual culture" (S. Akatayev) Moreover, this historical and cultural succession connecting the ancients with the later generations is a result of not only the integrity of the social and economic basis of nomadic communities, closeness of material culture but also the way of thinking, social institutes, ideology and religious notions" (4, p.41).

Certainly, the succession and integrity of culture used to be disturbed as a result of different historical cataclysms, particularly, destructive incursions and wars that were frequent and natural in nomadic environment and that were "the motive power of history" of nomadic peoples. The mobility as an usual condition at nomadic way of life, frequent traveling from place to place, the absence of any

closed space and non-fixedness on certain territory made nomads frequently fight against each other and settled tribes, and in some periods (the Middle age) form the way of war life. However, such temporary disturbances of the integrity at level of some or other tribes, unions of tribes or war unions, which though caused changes and some forward movement but did not undermine the foundations of the nomadic way of life had no influence on the essence of the nomadic activities. As a special social and economic formation it existed, as we see, for rather a long period of history.

One of features of the integrity of the nomadic culture is **syncretism** that demonstrates the total unity of all sides of material-productive and spiritual life of the society. Laws of nature, social life and creative activities were perceived here not only through practice providing the necessities of life but also through art, mythology and ritual. Syncretism of all fields of life of a nomadic community like syncretism in consciousness of its members does not allow differentiating the real from the mythological, the material from the spiritual, the practically-common from sub-common (art) the logically rational from the sensitively emotional. ... So when studying any traditional culture it is difficult to differentiate between "economy", "policy", "philosophy", "religion", "art" etc in a contemporary sense. Say, we find origins of art in traditional **ceremonies and ritual**, which are definitely connected with productive and practical activities of people. On the other side, any ritual is connected with theory and practice of mythology (sacral sphere), with ideology of social order, and thus with philosophy, policy and power that reasonably ruling provides the material and spiritual integrity, health and welfare of a tribe or nation.

In art, there is no yet work on the system of art of a nomadic community (and, particularly, the Kazakh traditional culture). However, origins of all system connections in art of this society, according to recent researches, lie in the traditional ritual and magic practice, on which all its world outlook is based. Such a conclusion is arisen as a result of studying by Kazakhstan scientists of two main fields of art – arts and crafts and musical-poetic (the field of folklore, literature and music) with a variety of types and genres.

Researchers of ornamental art mention the genetic connection of the Kazakh ornament with art of ancient nomadic tribes of Eurasia – Saki (Scythian), Usuni, Khuni and ancient Turkic tribes. For example, zoo- morph motifs in the ornament represent elements and stylization of the Scythian-Saki "animal style", ancient sacral signs and images of which were of ritual importance. This is evidenced by many archeological memorials of ancient ages on the territory of Kazakhstan, including rock paintings (5). The later poly-chromic style with its ritual symbolism of color was also reflected both in wall painting (fresco) of the middle-age mausoleums and jewelry and other kinds of arts and crafts (artistic metal working, wood and bone engraving, leather stamping). Motifs of the Kazakh ornament are extremely numerous and preserve characteristics of different ages and styles (6).

In forming arts and crafts, a certain role was played by Islam that prohibited images of live creatures: the gradual stylization and schematization of images take place, together with which symbolic meanings of those images in ornamental art increase. Practically all ornaments, in which we now find cosmogonic, zoo-morph, vegetative and geometrical motifs in their time were in certain way "read" and were connected with cosmogony, world-outlook, ancient beliefs and rites of the Kazakhs.

With the same ancient beliefs (totemism, tengrianity, shamanism, worship of ancestors) and ritual and magic ceremonial was connected folklore, poetical and music art of the Kazakh people. Their main bearers in traditional culture of the Kazakhs were *the baksy* (shamans), *the zhyrau and the zharshi* (creators and performers of epic tradition), *the akyns, the saly and the seri* (ad lib poets, creators and performers of song tradition), *the kyuisshi* (instrument musicians) They are **professional** types of the bearers of the Kazakh verbal-poetic and musical culture. And their belonging to the professional sphere is additionally determined by creative syncretism, the combination of authorship and performance with musical accompaniment.

The most ancient of them are – the baksy-shamans and the akyns (ad lib poets and singers) E. Tursynov associates their origin and composition with the age of the formation of class relationships in ancient nomadic communities. (7). In this period there was the formation of specialists, originators of worship rites and ritual ceremonies. While shamans appeared on the territory of Kazakhstan in the Bronze age and by the first millenium B.C. the Turkic and Mongolian tribes were characterized in Chinese chronicles as shamanists, the type of an akyn was formed by the beginning of this era. Activities of both shamans and akyns grew out of activities of ancient ritual intermediaries that earlier (at the stage of mythology) carried out the connection between the world of people and the world of super power of nature, between worships and rites of different kinds in a tribe. Correspondingly, later, in the age of tengrianity and worship of ancestors (the ancient Turkic age) shamans determined their position as specialists in the field of magic: they became intermediaries between "this" earthy world and "that" one, the world of ancestors' spirits. But the akyns in the period of the early State system became experts and originators of inter-generational (exogamous) rites. Namely this function played its role in that in later stages and up to now, the akyns directed the holding of the most important rituals - the marriage and the funeral.

The origins of the musical and poetic creation of the baksy from the ancient time and up to the twentieth century are in the shaman camlany (*baksy oinauy*), those of akyns' art from the ancient time and up to now are in the ritual (musical and poetic) competition *the aitys*. This genre is rooted in the age of coming-into-being of the dual community with the ritually hostile attitude to each other (rivalry) of two fratrics. After its decomposition, the tradition of verbal competitions (ritual fights) continued to take place between representatives of different clans and still continues in the sphere of the traditional art.

The ancient syncretism of both types is obvious: the *baksy* is a magician, a healer, a foreteller, a poet, a musician; the *akyn* is an originator of rites (including hereditary and family ones), a competitor (a representative and a defender of a clan), an ad lib poet and a performer of different genre songs. The magic practice of shamans is determined by their "peculiarity" by protecting spirits that give them different knowledge and skills and the ability to make a contact with the other world. *The first baksy* Korkut among the Kazakhs, at that time, was a father of musicians and a creator of the musical (bow) instrument *Kobyz*. The ritual practice of the *akyns*, is like not magic, rather social. At the same time the Kazakhs deemed that a victory of an *akyn* in competition that promises success to all the clan is also provided by a special protection and a mood of spirits of that clan's ancestors and earlier – totem (in the period of dual mythology) (7, p.147).

Activities of the *zhyrau*, creators and performers of epos (*zhyr*) were also connected with the ritual: epos of the Kazakhs and other Turkic and Mongolian peoples was formed on the basis of the magic rite of eulogy of (for coaxing and propitiating) spirits of ancestors of that clan's famous warriors. This rite, the rite of *war magic*, arose in its turn from the hunting rituals and from the ritual practice of intermediary priests, and the *zhyraus* appeared as a result of further specialization in the epoch of the worship of ancestors and war democracy. Activities of the *zhyrau* is also syncretical and many-functional. This is the ancient type of a singing teller in whom the priest functions (an originator of war and worship rituals), the gift of a prophet is entangled with later military and State functions of a commander, a *batyr* warrior, a khan adviser and a wise people's preceptor (8).

In fact, narrating against the background of the latest (State military) functions of the *zhyrau*, probably, gradually passes into the hands of the *zharshy*. However, in the *zhyrau's* creative work the leading position with time is occupied by the genres of philosophical and didactic poetry and music – the so-called small forms of the epic tradition: the *tolgau* (philosophical thoughts), *the terme and the zheldirme* (didactic musical and poetic tirada and recitacy), *the maktau* (ode), *the osiet* (edification), the *mysal* (fable) etc. In some regions (the bank of Syrdarya river) as a result of the energetic activities of the Arabic and Muslim missionaries (the Kazakhs' clan *kozha*) the genres of eastern poetry and music penetrate into the *zharshy's* creative activities: *the kissa-dastan* (poem), *the khikaya and mynazhat* (narratives about life of prophets), *the rubayat and gazal* (9). The *zhyrau's* functions connected with the sphere of military and political power, arising in the epoch of the early State system and having reached prosperity in the classic period and in the epoch of Kazakh khanates began to decline together with the collapsing of military way of life, patriarchal relationships and nomadic way of life (Kazakhstan joined Russia between the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries)

Also from the war and magic rites and the worship of war ancestors E. Tursunov derives the origin of the types of musical and poetic tradition bearers such as *the saly* and *the seri*. Their distant "ancestors"

are members of *ritual secret unions*, which in the epoch of the class formation and selection of the tribal highest group united the most successful and noble warriors come from the midst of nomadic aristocracy (7, p.179). Secret unions which were in history of many tribes and peoples of the world were remarkable for their special rites held only in the restricted circle of the privileged. Sophistication and, at the same time, eccentricity of the sals, their unusual manner of dressing, Bohemia way of life and permissiveness in behavior is connected with namely the ritual activities of those secret unions, accompanied by mystical actions, splendor and masqueradeness. Their members who were higher than clans' and tribes' chieftains and were "real aristocrats" were remarkable for their peculiar bravery in battles and for their idle way of life in peaceful time.

Though as feudalism developed, those secret communities gradually collapsed, in steppe they were transformed into communities of wandering poets and musicians of the sals and seri who existed up to the end of the nineteenth century. They had certain social privileges and spent their time in feasts and entertainment, gathering people and captivating them by different arts: singing and playing musical instruments, pantomime, juggling, dramatic and circus performances. Principal "jokers" of those festivals – the bizarre sals were usually accompanied by the artists' retinue among which stood out the seri (a serik means a helpmate). While the sals, according to E. Tursynov, are close in their essence to members of secret unions the areoya (Taiti isl.), the seri, the noble knights of the steppe, in creative activities of which an important place is occupied by love lyrics remind of the middle-age European trumpeters and trouverers. In the nineteenth century the names of the saly and seri are identified and are synonyms in the expression of sal-serilik (the name of way of life and creative activities of the sals and the seri) and the sal-seri themselves become the brightest representatives of the song and professional art.

To the earliest historical epochs researchers also refer the origin of the musical creative activities of the *kyushi* – bearers of the Kazakhs' musical tradition. This is evidenced by the stratum of so-called ancient *legend kyuy*s. Their plots reflect the mythology of the Kazakhs (kyuy about Korkut), their cosmogonical and cosmological notions, ancient beliefs and worships – totemism, shamanism and worship of ancestors. (10). The origin of the instrumental traditions' bearers themselves kyushi was probably later in comparison with ancient bearers of the musical and poetic tradition. This is evidenced by the term itself to the stem of which (kyuy – a name of the genre) the suffix-ending (-shi) is added. This word-formation is attributable in indicating all later types of bearers of the Kazakhs' cultural traditions.– the zhyrshy (an epos performer), the anshy (signer), *dombyrashy* (dombrist), *synshy*, *zhauyrynshy* (fortune-tellers). It reflects the further specialization in the field of the traditional culture.

Besides, *the kyuy* is the syncretic genre, in which a single whole is a verbal story ("legend") and music. This syncretism also reflects the syncretic nature of the existence of music, the sphere of which like the sphere of the spiritual as a whole was not separate from the **ritual** in antiquity, and later from

everyday life (guest ritual) and the everyday **relations** as a communicative act (11). Forms of the performance of *kyuys*, depending on the correlation of music and story were different. The earliest was probably the musical and illustrative form of the performance of a *kyuy*, when a story alternated with playing a musical instrument, that is music illustrated a text. In ancient *kyuys*, musical episodes were often music-imaging: reproduced different sounds of nature, voices of animals and birds, thud of horses' hoofs, human weeping, speech etc. This tradition goes back to the magic role of music in hunting and shaman rituals (call, obsecration of spirits of nature, spirits of ancestors).

As it was mentioned, the instrumental accompaniment of singing as a mandatory component of performance was attributable to all professional types of bearers of the musical and poetic tradition. Shamans and *zhyrau* used the *kobyz*, an ancient bow instrument with two hair strings, *zharshy*, *saly* and *seri sang* to the accompaniment of the *dombra*, a bow plectoral instrument.

Thus, instrumental music as an independent sphere of creative activities has arisen from both the ancient ritual and magic practice and the function of accompanying musical and poetic genres. Their organic synthesis was reflected in that in semantics and structure of instrumental music one feels the link both with poetic genres (*baksy* incantation, epic poetry, song) and with ancient narrative genres (myth, legend, story, verbal story – *angime*).

So, based on the genre sources, among *kyuys* one can emphasize shaman (and wider, mythological), epic, fairy tale and legend, historical, lyric and other ones.

Thus, we have made a brief review of the basic types of bearers of the Kazakh professional music in verbal tradition. They are representatives of the epic tradition - the *zhyrau* and the *zharshy*, the song-poetic tradition – the *akyns*, the *saly* and the *seri* and the instrumental one – the *kyushy*. The creative activities of the *baksy* – the Kazakh shamans – refers, according to common classification (11), to the rite folklore. However, according to our opinion, it is between the rite folklore (the *baksy's* songs as one of incantations) and the professional tradition (incantations with a *kobyz* as musical and poetic creative activities that has preserved its ritual significance).

The big stratum of folklore song genres in the Kazakh music is divided into two large groups: 1) rite genres – songs of *marriage and funeral* cycles, shaman's (collective incantations of *the badik*, *the kulapsan* and *the bksy*), songs of the Muslim fast (*the zharapazan*, *the sakhar*); 2) art genres – children's folklore (songs of children and songs for children – lullabies), youth's songs and games, *the kara olen* (people's songs) and their variety.

However, the division of the traditional music into professional and folklore kinds of creative activities and the revelation of its genre *structure*, does not yet determine the *system* of these genres. In the Kazakh musicology, the system organization of the Kazakh traditional music was established by D.

Assia Mukhambetova (12) The main system-forming factor, according to A. Mukhambetova, is the rhythm of labor activities, which corresponds to natural and cosmic rhythms. Thus, the rhythm of settled peoples has been reflected in the **agricultural** calendar that is the basis of *an annual cycle*. The other source of the system is the **family-rite cycle**, the content of which, the human life (birth, wedding and death), is universal for all types of cultures. It has become the basis of a *life cycle*. These two factors – the calendar and the family-rite cycle – form the sole system which is defined by the scientist as the **calendar of culture**. And it organizes, as a rule, the genre system within traditional cultures.

Studying the calendar of the Kazakhs (and nomadic peoples of Central Asia), which is quite different from the agricultural one, A. Mukhambetova cites the following quotation from the book "Calendars and chronology of the world's countries" (M., 1982) by Dr. V. Tzybul'sky: "The idea about making the Jupiter calendar with the celestial symbol of the 12-year animal cycle was perceived by peoples of Eastern Asia from nomads of Central Asia who had determined that the Jupiter makes a full revolution around the Sun for approximately 12 years.. By dividing the Jupiter's path into 12 equal parts by 30 degrees and by giving to each part a name of a certain animal, peoples of Asia have made the Sun-Jupiter 12-year calendar cycle" (13).

The years' names in the Kazakh calendar and those in the calendar of Eastern Asia' countries coincide with each other except for two ones: the dragon and the monkey that is alien to the Central Asia's fauna (they are also absent in the legend on animals). The dragon year is called Ulu by the Kazakhs, that could symbolize a wolf, the general totem of Turkic and Mongolian tribes and peoples (14). The monkey year is called Meshin (mechin in Mongol) – Pleiads (Urker in Kazakh). By the location of this constellation, the nomads (Turkis and Mongols) exactly determined months and days of a year that was necessary for migrating. The long-period breeding of cattle (basic food) in conditions of the distinct continental climate of Central Asia and the nomadic way of life were inconceivable without thorough knowledge in the field of astronomy. The cyclic 12-year animal calendar as one of the most ancient calendars of the world (it is several thousand year of age) after passing the Muslim calendar did not yet lost its vital significance among the Kazakhs and was the basic system of calculus of time. It determined the course of time as a whole and its spaces, bore information on time in nature and human life, uniting by the sole Time the course of cosmic, economic and life cycles.

The life cycle of the Kazakhs, closely connected with the 12-year calendar cycle, covers the human life from his birth to his death. The components of this cycle are called *mushel* (a part, a 12 year period): the first *mushel* (1-12 years) – childhood, the second (13-24) – youth, the third and the fourth (25-36 and 37-48) – maturity, the fifth (49-60) – old age. Transitional years are *the mishel zhas* (the *mushel* year) are the 13th, 25th, 37th, 49th, 61st etc. These years were deemed dangerous for the human life because transitions were mythologically conceived as the death in one way and the birth in new one and were

accompanied by different protective actions. Both with birth and death and transitional years were connected the serious rites: the rite of initiation (the 13th year), the rite-arranged farewell to past youth, its mourning (songs "25"), entering the old age in 49 (summation, assessment of the past). "For that who has passed all mushels – steps – life periods it is the way to the Other world (*Sol dunie*), for that who hasn't passed the life cycle it is the temporary sojourn with returning to This world (*Bul dunie*)", - A. Mukhambetova writes.

The comprehension of life as a cycle of relatively closed mushels adversely affected the strict age stratification of a community according to age groups (children , youth, middle and older ages). Each age group is characterized by its position in social structure, its way of life, ethic norms of behavior, its rights and freedoms. **Childhood** (till 12 year age) is the world of joyous games and funs, but in the **family** circle, a child receives first habits of behavior, he is inculcated in respect for the older, love for his relatives.

Youth (12-24 year age) is the time of full communication with persons of the same age, the time of not only free but also socially set funs and past-times: "impudent" behavior and jokes among persons of the same age have their forms and limits and it is like they are sanctioned by community. Young people actively participate in life of their **clan** and different rites, the main of which in this age period is a wedding. As for a girl this marriage means the transiting not only to the next age group but also to other clan. By making her farewell to her clan, that girl makes her farewell to her youth, while for a young man the time of his farewell starts in the moment in which the mushel ends - in 25.

Maturity (24-48 year age) covers two mushels, the middle between which is also dangerous to human life. This is the time of largest social activities of a person: *the karasakal* (the black-bearded), a man of a mature age, is a full participant of social life of his **people** and works in all spheres of life. Activities of a woman of that age is limited primarily by her family: in her husband's clan, she, as its new member, together with her children, starts her new cycle.

Old age (48-60 year age and more) is the special time in human life. The white-bearded old man – *the alsakal*, who has fully passed this and all the previous periods is lavished on care and respect by everybody. At the level of his life experience, wisdom and knowledge he appears as an adviser, a mentor and a helper. This social role of the old men, their behavior freed from temporal affairs, a special attitude to them on the side of youth is also determined by their closeness to the world of **ancestors**: "The are inhabitants of This world and also live representatives of the Other world" (A. Mukhambetova).

Generally, the life cycle not only regulates the community's social life but also determines the structure of its spiritual culture. Each age group masters its stratum of this culture, and each mushel has its set of both rite and magic actions and genres and non-rite ones (forms of professional art). Thus, the birth of a child was accompanied with different protective and magic actions, the celebration of *shildekhan* and *besik toy*, then followed the fortieth birthday (*kyrkynan shygaru*) and the fetter cutting rite

(*tusau kesu*). These rites were performed with incantations and good wishes. The genres of the first mushel cover lullabies and children's folklore – fairy-tale songs, riddles, counting verses, tongue-twisters etc.

Youth includes different games, the ritual swinging in couples (*alty bakan*), which were accompanied by singing youth's songs, humorous competitions between young men and girls (*kaiym-aitys*). The marriage rite includes bride's farewell songs, dialogic singing of young men and girls (*zhar-zhar*), the rite of bride's face uncovering (*betashar*) that was performed by the akyn in the musical and poetic form, competitions of matchmakers in the rite "beginning of the festival" (*toy bastau*). Guests at wedding are entertained by the *saly* and *seri*, creative activities of which (love lyrics) as well out of the rite reflected the world of youth's interests.

A person of this age, the age of active social life and participating in all events of his clan is intended, according to Mukhambetova, the akyns' art directed to socium, regulating social relationships in ethnos (*aitys*). The kyuishy art with its wide problems and a large range of a narrative part of the genre (*kyuy*) from mythology to lyrics counts on the experience of an adult of a community.

The experience of old men both in social-political and spiritual life is reflected in the art of zhurau, in which the philosophy principles are closely interrelated with didactic and moralizing ones. The old age is accompanied by reflection songs (*tolgau*), didactic songs (*osiet, nakyl soz*), farewell songs, songs about death. Death of a person was marked with the whole cycle of funeral rites in which there are the distinctive songs: message of death (*estirtu*), weeping songs (*zhoktau*), consolation songs (*konyl-aitu, zhubatu*). In contents and intonations, close to songs of the funeral rite are those (genres) that serve special spaces of time: bride's weeping songs (ritual death, passing from one clan to another), songs "25" ("death" of a young man, his transition to the new age group). A.. Mukhambetova believes that "the non-time character is born by art of the baksy, because their activities are directed to not a certain mushel in real human life but to the world of spirits that in non-time and special way contacts the world of people and the world of present time".

Thus, **the life cycle of the Kazakhs** in conformity with the calendar cycle of the mushels is the basis of the genre system of the traditional Kazakh music in conformity of folklore and professional creative activities, song – poetic and instrumental culture.

The Kazakh musical culture undoubtedly belongs to the type of "Oriental" cultures. It is related to cultures of the Orient by primarily **non-writing form, monodiiness** (a kind of musical thinking) and **ad lib form**. The ad lib form in the Kazakhs' musical culture is seen in different levels:

1) Since art is included in the ritual or life the situation "performer-listener" might arise at any moment of everyday or ritual communication of people. The usual sacral mood of spirit (communication

with ancestors – aruakhs, Tengri – heaven, Allah) provided immediate transitions of a performer and listeners from everyday fuss to the highest thoughts and emotions. (15).

2) Possession of ad lib art as an indispensable requirement to a professional is expressed in the ability of immediately respond to one or another event, thought, emotion through musical-poetic or instrumental art in aitys, epic genres, songs or kyuus.

3) Ability from the first to remember a song or a kyuy gives rise in any further performance by other musicians to natural multi variantness of this "Opus". and discovers the ad lib nature of creative activities.

Speaking of the functioning of the traditional art, it is worth to note that in their creative activities Kazakh singers and kyuishy embodied "the principle of universality" (16), possessing the whole spiritual and humanitarian complex of knowledge of the nomadic community. The deep knowledge of mythology, genealogy, shariat, history, law and certainly all rites and ritual song and poetic genres allowed giving to them in the poetized form all the complex of forms of public conscience.

During many centuries of the Kazakhs' musical, poetic and instrumental creative activities were formed not only the developed and deliberate authorship but outstanding individual styles and different **regional styles** of vocal, vocal-instrumental and instrumental music. In respect of the originality of these styles one may mention music of Western Kazakhstan (the Kazakhs of Junior zhuz) and music of Eastern Kazakhstan (the Kazakhs of Middle and Senior zhuz).

The Western style in the field of the professional music is primarily presented by the richest epic tradition of Kyzylorda district (the basin of Sardarya river in the southwest of Kazakhstan) and Mangyshlak peninsula (west). Here were formed the powerful local traditions of epic singing characterized by the very important meaning of vocal principles in performing multi-part cyclic works – heroic epos and small epic genres. For a number of centuries in the West there were formed traditional performance schools which in the nineteenth century released the pleiad of zhyrau, zhyrshy and akyns, the most outstanding of which are Bazar, Makhambet, Nurym, Nurtugan, Ongar, Kete Zhussup, Nauryzbek, Omar Shorayak etc.

The professional song art of the western region is presented by the creative activities of the outstanding singer of the nineteenth century: Mukhit (Oral and Atyrau districts), Kaiyp,, Tastemir, Dosat, Uskembay etc (Mangyshlak).

The instrumental music of the West is characterized primarily by the dombra style *tokpe* (carpal technique). This style has its own features concerning technique features, rhythm and intonation organization and compositional structure of kyuus. In the dombra tradition of Western Kazakhstan the following local styles and performance schools of the nineteenth century stand out: a) Bukeyev's (Oral,

Atyrau districts), brilliant representatives of which are the kyuyshis Kurmangazy and Dina, Dauletkerey and Seitek and other representatives of their schools; b) Mangystau's (Mangyshlak district) – Abyl, Esbay, Esir, Kulshar, oskenbay and their schools; c) Aral-Atyubiinsk's and Kzylorda's – Myrza, Kazangap, Doszhan, Alshekey and their schools. In the southwest in Kzylorda district there was also the kobyz instrumental tradition, in particular, the performance of kyuys about Korkut (the First shaman, Father of musicians and epic hero) and the tradition of performing on the wind musical instrument *Sybyzgy* – in Mangyshlak district.

In the Eastern region there is also the epic tradition – the performance of epos (not only heroic one) and small epic genres, basically, terme (creative works by Mailykozha and others). While in the western epic tradition, however, through the prism of special singing, one may mention the predominance of vocal principles, in the eastern tradition it is the recitative way of singing. Generally, musical aspect of both western and the eastern epic traditions are not yet studied.

Instead, the field of the professional song art of the eastern region, particularly, *the arka* (Arka district, Central Kazakhstan) tradition, due to creative activities of the singers of the nineteenth century Birzhan-sala, Akhan-seri, Zhayau Musa, Ibray, Madi, Abay, Estay, Maira and others is studied rather well (12). In fact, within the framework of the arkin tradition there was formed the developed, brilliant, song and poetic art of the sals and seri in which an important role is played by lyrics: it is songs about love, art, nature and beauty of the native land, about the loved horses, devotion songs, songs about bereavements and autobiographical songs in which a great strain and to not a less extent deep feeling and thoughts are expressed. The song tradition of the eastern region *Zhetysu* (Semiirechye – southeastern district of Kazakhstan) presented by creative activities of Kapeza, Kenen, Aset and other is studied to a less extent.

In accordance with the song art of Arka and Zhetysu in these and other districts of the eastern region (Eastern Kazakhstan district, the northeast and the south – Dzhambul and Chimkent districts) there is also the original instrumental style *shertpe* (plucking technique). It is, like the tokpe, is characterized by its complex of expressive and linguistic means. In the shertpe along with the *arka* style (representatives of which are Baidzhigit, Tattimbet and his school) and the *zhetysu* (Kozheke and others) also stands out the *karatau* style (Karatau is the mountain range in the south and the southwest of Kazakhstan). Since Karatau is the boundary area between the West and the East, the karatau style, according to our estimate, represents a certain synthesis of two instrumental traditions – tokpe and shertpe (it was reflected in the creative activities of the kyushi of the nineteenth – beginning of the twentieth c. such as Alshekey and Sugir).

In addition to features of the regional musical style in the Kazakh traditional music we are also concerned in the following interesting problems: in the Kazakh musical culture there is the striking symbiosis of the two essentially different linguistic traditions: the West-Turkic and the East-Turkic. And

like in the anthropological character of the Kazakhs the mixing of two races is reflected, in music (and not only) one may find two culture strata and, therefore, two musical systems. Thus, the instrumental style *shertpe*, the epic branch of *kobyz* music and the eastern (recitative) epic singing style, the folklore and professional stratum of the song tradition of Eastern Kazakhstan adjoins the East-Turkic tradition to which we refer music of South Siberia, some Mongolian peoples and the Kyrgyz. The instrumental style *tokpe*, the Korkut branch of the *kobyz* tradition and the western (vocal) singing style and the singing tradition of Western Kazakhstan adjoins the West-Turkic tradition (branch) to which we refer music of the western neighbors of the Kazakhs – Karakalpaks, Turkmen, Uzbeks, Azerbaijanis and other (minor) peoples of the Caucasus.

However, interesting is that in music of almost all Turkic-speaking people there is preserved the intermediate or mediate link with the powerful phenomenon of the ancient Turkic musical culture, with its basis – the tradition of *guttural singing*, which is especially well preserved in epic traditions of Turkic peoples. The natural scale principle of the structure is apparent as the tune system-forming in music of a number of East-Turkic peoples (17). But music of the western Kazakhs, Karakalpak and Turkmen music, despite a great influence of the other musical system – Iranian – has preserved the link with the guttural singing as a special way of sound extracting (hoarse, guttural). The guttural way of singing as a relict of the throat one is observed in the southwestern epic tradition (the *karmakchi* style) of the Kazakhs, Karakalpak *zhyrau* (singing with the *kobyz*), the similar way of singing in the *mangystau* epic tradition and the Turkmen epic tradition *bakshi-destanchi*.

In conclusion of our report we would like to mention the following: by a historical chance the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century proved to be the time of the greatest prosperity of the Kazakh traditional culture. The outstanding publicist, writer and culture specialist of Kazakhstan M.M. Auezov writes the following: "Like expecting for the tragic final of the nomadic civilization that took place in this century as a result of the collectivization, the Kazakh steppe of the nineteenth century enters the scene of great poets, composers, singers, instrumentalists, outstanding speakers, epos narrators, creators of masterpieces of religious architecture, arts and crafts. Gorgeous was this elegiac farewell party of the nomadic world..."

But the real culture is common to all mankind and therefore immortal".

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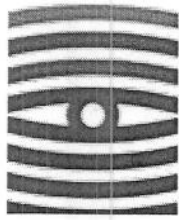
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古樂舞主體覺知之探索與再生
The Search and Rebirth of Subject's Conscious
in Ancient Dance

陳玉秀 (台灣)
Chen, Yu-Hsiu (Taiwan)

行政院文化建設委員會 指導
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古樂舞主體覺知之探索與再生

陳玉秀

前言

本文主題「古樂舞主體覺知之探索與再生」中所提出的古樂與古舞，與當代人類一般性的音樂、舞蹈之認知，無法等量齊觀。《禮記·樂記》有關古樂與今樂的對答，可作為本文主題之提示：

魏文侯問於子夏曰：「吾端冕而聽古樂，則唯恐臥，聽鄭衛之音，則不知倦。敢問古樂之如彼何也？新樂之如此何也？」子夏對曰：「今夫古樂，進旅退旅，和正以廣。弦匏笙簧，會守拊鼓，始奏以文，復亂以武，治亂以相，訊疾以雅。君子於是語，於是道古，脩身及家，平均天下，此古樂之發也。今夫新樂，進俯退俯，姦聲以濫，溺而不止。及優侏儒，¹雜子女，不知父子，樂終不可以語，不可以道古，此新樂之發也。今君之所問者樂也，所好者音也。夫樂者。與音相近而不同。」文侯曰：「敢問何如？」子夏對曰：「夫古者，天地順而四時當，民有德而五穀昌，疾疢不作而無妖祥，此之謂大當。然後聖人作為父子君臣，既為紀綱，紀綱既正，天下大定。天下大定，然後正六律和五聲，弦歌詩頌，此之謂德音，德音之謂樂。詩云：『莫其德音，其德克明，克明克類，克長克音。王此大邦，克順克俾，俾於文王，其德靡悔，既受帝祉，施於孫子。』此之謂也，今君之所好者，其溺音乎。文侯曰：「敢問溺音，何從出也？」子夏對曰：「鄭音好濫淫志，宋音燕女溺志……此四者皆淫於色而害於德，是以祭祀弗用也……為人君者僅其所好惡而已矣……君好之，則臣為之，上行之，則民從之……」¹

上文中魏文侯對古樂的困惑，子夏提出三點說明：

1. 子夏指出魏文侯在理性上所欲理解的是「樂」，但其主體覺知卻耽溺於「音」的旋律中，結論是「君所問者樂。所好者音」，依此可知古代的「音」不即是「樂」，兩者是有差別的。
2. 魏文侯所好之音為「溺音」，「溺音」者「淫於色，而害於德，是以祭祀弗用」。換言之，古樂才是中國祭禮文化的正統。
3. 作為一位政治的領導者之所以需具備「樂」之素養，乃是要將清明導入自我覺知中，「謹其所好惡」，循傳統聖人之道，以免上行下效，影響社會風氣。

上文中古樂的信念涵蓋了主體覺知、祭禮的意義以及政治領導者之行爲素養等三項。就個人主體覺知的經驗而言，魏文侯聽「鄭衛之音，則不知倦」，可能類似沉溺於電視節目的孩子，過度投入某種表現形式，久久不能自己，此情境是可以理解的；至於子夏對古樂的推崇，是基

¹ 《禮記·樂記》

於衛道的心理？抑或子夏個人在古樂「和正以廣」的氣氛中，能興起某種美感覺知？「和正以廣」之古樂的結構為何？在當代藝術形式中實難獲得具同質性的藝術聯想。此外，子夏回答魏文侯時是否已完整道盡古樂之特質？本文主題的「古樂舞」正是子夏所推崇的古樂中之舞蹈。研究者將參酌古樂之相關論述，對古樂的本質及落實古樂主體覺知的身體動態—古舞，進行探索。

第一章、古樂舞的傳承

第一節、古樂的特質

音樂對現代人的通俗作用是抒情或寄情。人類感官一旦接遇與其身心知覺相互契合的樂音，自然而然在樂音的共鳴中，獲得情緒的疏導與表達的滿足。然而上述音樂對人情緒之釋放與表達的作用似乎不是中國古樂存在的意義，中國第一篇有關音樂的論述—《樂記》¹，成文於漢代，對樂與人的基本關係有如下的見解，「知聲而不知音者，禽獸是也。知音而不知樂者，眾庶是也。唯君子為能知樂。」²，文中禽獸意指一切動物，眾庶是芸芸眾生，君子代表著能在樂的身心思維中自我昇華的人。依此，要作為君子，首先要明白「人生而靜」的道理：

人生而靜，天之性也。感於物而動，性之欲也。物至知知。然後好惡形焉。好惡無節於內。知誘於外。不能反躬。天理滅矣。³

唐·孔穎達疏云：「人生而靜天之性也，正義曰：言人初生未有情欲是其靜，稟於自然是天性也。」「靜」是人性的本質，本質若能維持恆定的狀態，心境則能無污染。此意即如佛家常言之：「分別識」⁴，人如果對事對人一有分別心，擇己所好者為善，所惡者為惡，此理性盡矣，自無本質可言。人既無以回反自我「靜」之本質，則：「物至而人化物也，人化物也者，滅天理而窮人欲也。」⁵作為一種精神昇華的理想，君子緊扣「靜」之原則，不隨波逐流。是政治領導人物教育子民的方針：「是故先王之制禮樂也，非以極口腹耳目之欲也，將以教民平好惡，而反人道之正也。」⁶在此大方針之下，中國古樂運行的時空主要是在禮的範圍。「大樂

第一章·第一節 注釋

¹ 參閱見拙作：《雅樂舞的白話文——以樂記為例探看古樂的身體》，（台北萬卷樓圖書，1994），頁46

² 《禮記·樂記》

³ 同上註

⁴ 分別識，第六識也。三藏法數曰：「於六塵等種種諸境而起分別也，此言由第七末那識傳送第六意識能起分別。故名分別識也。」見《佛學字典》，（新文豐出版公司）

⁵ 同註2

⁶ 同註2

與天地同和；大禮與天地同節。」⁷樂是洞見人性存在之本質，禮則是宇宙自然之秩序，在《樂記》全文中，禮樂對舉。人與自然宇宙足以相互詮釋比擬。

樂者，天地之和也。禮者，天地之序也。和，故百物皆化。序，故群物皆別。樂由天作，禮以地制，過制則亂，過作則暴，明於天地，然後能興禮樂也。論倫無患，樂之情也。欣喜歡愛，樂之官也。中正無邪，禮之質也。莊敬恭順，禮之制也。若夫，禮樂之施於金石，越於聲音，用於宗廟社稷，事乎山川鬼神，則此所與民同也。

8

本段結語依唐·孔穎達疏云：「則此與民同也者言：施於金石，越於聲音，用於宗廟社稷，事乎山川鬼神，此等與民共同有也」。在教育尚未普及，語言又不可能是精準的傳達工具時，三千年前甚至更古老的年代，中國政治的領導者以禮樂形式之鋪陳，與人民共同參與祭禮，由此共同參與中，達成思維、信念傳承的目的。

第二節、禮樂的理想

人類的存活與自然界之規則息息相關，春發、夏長、秋收、冬藏，順應著自然節氣，人類求取物質的滋養，延續生命。自然瞬息的巨變，暴風、雷雨、洪流、猛獸則迫使人類面對死亡。

在原始社會，祭祀的意義，大抵來自人類對無可抗衡、無可解脫避免的生命現象，建構對話的方式，在中國「樂」與「禮」成為社會進化的根本法則時，依古樂本質中「靜」之設定。人性主體覺知的甦醒，締造了禮樂文化的精緻性，先知們依自身生命本質之體驗，對自然界進行觀察、反省與詮釋，在古樂思維中禮樂的呈現，整合了器樂、供品與人，每一項參與的人事物都具備了某種象徵意義，譬如：

1. 器樂素材之認知：金、石、絲竹等各項材質，各具不同的性格象徵。「鐘聲鏗，鏗以立號，號以立橫，橫以立武，君子聽鐘聲。則思武臣。石聲磬，磬以立辨，辨以致死，君子聽磬聲，則思死封疆之臣。絲聲哀，哀以立廉，廉以立志，君子聽琴瑟之聲，則思忠義之臣。竹聲濫，濫以立會，會以聚眾，君子聽竽笙簫管之聲，則思畜聚之臣。鼓鞀之聲謹。謹以立動。動以進眾。君子聽鼓鞀之聲。則思將帥之臣。」¹

2. 原味的供品以及身體的動態皆依循老祖宗舊有的習俗：祭禮時歌者的聲音是老祖宗

⁷ 同註2

⁸ 同註2

第一章·第二節 注釋

¹ 《禮記·樂記》

聲調的延續，「清廟之瑟。朱弦而疏越。壹倡而三歎。有遺音者矣。」² 祭禮的供品則是生魚、水，「大饗之禮。尚玄酒而俎腥魚。大羹不和。有遺味者矣。」³ 呈獻供品的人，秉持「樂內中出，禮自外作」的動態原則，自我「靜之本質」的呈現是必然要求。

3. 除上述有形物質的篩選，在無形的精神領域中，為緬懷先王的智慧與德行，以文、武二舞，教示萬民先王創業之事跡。

禮樂依上述理想開展，禮事的籌畫循此大原則規劃進行，禮樂展現過程皆與生命存續的歷程環環相扣，譬如：《禮記月令》所載，春、夏、秋、冬為四時，每一節令又分孟春、仲春、季春；孟夏、仲夏……。依此，循節氣所形成之現象，觀察歸納出自自然法則的順逆：「孟春行夏令則雨水不時。草木蚤落。國時有恐。行秋令則其民大疫。」⁴ 在恰當的季節中，勸民農稼「乃擇元辰，天子親載耒耜，措之于参保介之御間，帥三公九卿諸侯大夫躬耕帝藉……。」⁵ 經驗的累積告訴執政者，不可窮兵黷武，以免影響人民生息。「是月也不可以稱兵。稱兵必天殃。兵戎不起不可從我始。毋變天之道；毋絕地之理；毋亂人之紀。」⁶ 政治領導人對自然界的熟稔、引導人民種植生養，政治領導者選取健康的作物求取某種聲音以為禮樂形式之用，有時樂器音準的高低取材於黍，黍是否能成長碩壯與時令節氣的流程密不可分。當地質豐沃、風調雨順，而有品質優異的黍管，方能發出厚實穩定的聲律，此樂聲定律的方法，由來久矣。在深受中國禮樂影響的朝鮮半島，李氏王朝的文獻中記載著：

伏以聲樂之和，自古為難。而古人論聲音則必以擊磬為至。言律管則必以案黍為本。今天降秬黍以示至和之應。地產磬石以兆克諧之端。然今日所當先正者律管也。稽之於古周。得有邠秬黍而樂和。漢得任城秬黍而近古。隋得羊頭山秬黍而不協。宋得京城秬黍而亦不中。以此觀之。案黍之法。雖在方冊。得黍之真最為難事……。⁷

這種依自然人倫為根本的禮樂架構，在中國古老的社會應已持續一段相當久遠的時間，近代考古學者在湖北省曾侯乙墓挖掘出土之古樂器及現存故宮博物院之商周禮器⁸，在在說明中國禮樂文化，由素樸之原創思維，步向形式誇飾的歷史流程。

2 同上註

3 同上註

4 《禮記·月令》

5 同上註

6 同上註

7 朴□《蘭溪遺稿》，（奎章閣圖書館藏書，漢城韓國），筆者案：朴□ 1378—1459A.D.，為韓國李氏朝鮮時期之樂聖。

8 參閱陳萬蔭：《中國古代音樂研究》，（台北文史哲出版社，2000年）

第一章·第三節 注釋

第三節、樂中的舞

身體是舞蹈落實的對象，舞既為禮樂文化中動態風格的表現，而此風格又蘊含古樂主體身心覺知之思維，如此，它的身心動態是以何種程序及結構釋出？古樂的動，經文獻上的理解，至少是不隨興、不隨便的。《周禮春官崇伯下》曰：「大司樂掌成均之□。以治建國之學政。而合國之子弟焉。凡有道者；有德者。使教焉。死則以為樂祖。祭於瞽宗。」唐·賈公彥疏云：「道，通物之名。是以有才藝通教於學子。故知此人多才藝耳。」¹「德能躬行者。」案師氏注：「德行外內之稱，在心為德，施之為行。德能躬行，則身內有德……」²尚書云：「非知之艱。行之惟艱。則此人非直能知亦能身行。」³賈公彥引尚書強調：「樂」知易行難的道理。對「道」與「德」的疏解，著重落實樂之主體覺知。如此可知，「道」與「德」二義非當代之道德(moral)。此乃一種體行合一的身心狀態，則「樂」是有其必然得落實的感覺，要能落實此感覺，使其進入身心之內，方稱之為德(得)。古人依此大前提設定樂教之制度。教授的主要對象是國之子弟，「公卿、大夫之子弟當學者謂之國子」⁴國子樂教的宗旨主要是「古樂」身心思維的體證，因此教師本身需有才藝，又有能力將此知覺傳授與國子，這些教師在百年身後，被稱為樂祖。並祭祀於瞽宗。古樂教學內容則包括：「樂德教國子中和，祇庸孝友」⁵、「樂語教國子興道諷誦言語」⁶、「樂舞教國子舞雲門、大卷、大咸、大磬、大夏、大濩、大武」⁷。「樂德」在教國子建立處事的態度，「樂語」引導國子如何表達，「樂舞」則藉古聖先賢的事蹟，以動態體證古聖先賢行儀的典範。雲門、大卷二舞云：「德如雲之所出」象徵古聖賢德如雲，綿延不絕，「卷」者：「卷眾之義，即族類也。」祭法云：「正名百物以明民是也。」⁸混沌初開，有智慧的聖賢以其如雲的德行引導民眾辨別百物之名，使四時、四季、萬物皆能有所識。此乃雲門大卷舞蹈之內涵。「大咸，咸也，堯樂也，堯能殫均刑法以儀民者。…言其德無不施者」。又云：「咸皆也，池施也，言堯德無所不施者。」「大磬，舜樂也，言其德能紹堯之道」。「大夏，禹樂也，禹治水傳土，言其德能大中國也」⁹。「大濩，湯樂也，湯以寬治民而除其邪者。……其德使天下得其所也」¹⁰。「大武，武王樂也，武王伐紂以除其害者」¹¹。上述古舞各依其典故，呈現時

1 《周禮註疏》第二十二，依中國音樂史料系編——影刊本

2 同註1

3 同註1

4 同註1

5 同註1

6 同註1

7 同註1

8 同註1

9 同註1

10 同註1

11 同註1

有古樂配合，「以六律、六同、八音、六舞、大合樂以致鬼神，以和邦國，以諧萬民，以安賓客，以說……。」注云：「六律合陽聲者也；六同合陰聲者也。」注云：「聲之陰陽各有合，黃鐘子之氣也，……大簇寅之氣也，……應鐘亥之氣……。」¹²

六律為黃鍾、大簇、姑洗、蕤賓、夷則、無射。六同即六呂、大呂、夾鐘、仲呂、林鐘、南呂、應鐘。陽聲為律，陰聲為呂，「六律合陽聲，六同合陰聲」¹³，十二干支為時辰，古人到底是以律呂協調時辰或是依時辰應對律呂或是在聲律及大自然的現象中，另有某種深沉之體會，古人應有自成的一套邏輯，此暫不續論。然古樂在陰陽交錯中所能感受的物質——「氣」，並非莫虛有的質量，古樂結構中「氣」的概念，迫使我們思考伴隨古樂而舞的舞蹈者，在舞「雲門」、「大成」、「大咸」等古舞時，舞者身上必然也要有「氣」之感應。如此方有可能對應穿透大自然一切生命體的「氣」。《左傳昭公 20 年》在解釋「和」的概念時對「氣」有如下的註腳：「五味和五聲也，以平其心，成其政也，聲亦如味，一氣、二體、三類、四物、五聲、六律」。唐·孔穎達云：「須氣以動，『一氣』杜解以為人氣也，服云歌氣也，『一氣』，正義曰：『服虔云，歌氣也』，杜言：『須氣以動，則一氣不主為歌，吹人以氣生，動皆由氣。彈絲擊石莫不用氣，氣是作樂之主，故先言之人，作諸樂皆須氣以動。』」¹⁴ 上文中，唐代孔穎達引前人的註解，說明凡與古樂、古舞相關的動態，無論是歌者、舞者或司樂器的人，身心狀態都是在「氣」的結構中進行的，《左傳》「一氣」之後的「二體」更明白的指出：「樂之動身體者，唯有舞耳。文舞執羽籥；武舞執干戚，舞者有文武之二體。」此二體依現代舞蹈表演的概念應為剛柔不同的風格。

整合古樂中舞之傳承，可歸納出以下幾點：

1. 在制度上古舞教學的對象是貴族子弟而非一般百姓。
2. 教材取捨是以古聖先賢的事蹟為標的。
3. 動態的結構強調「氣」之感應，於人體而言氣的安頓需在古樂「靜」之本質中進行。

第二章、古樂舞之再生

第一節、古舞覺知之傳承

傳統樂舞文化之探索因傳統之歷史意味、大抵可依文獻的爬梳尋得脈絡，然傳統文化之再生則仰賴文化思維之落實，此即需跳脫傳統形式又不離形式之本質。古樂舞呈現時，依文本記敘，人體動態仍由「氣」而動，「氣」字活現於中國人生命的各個層面，生活中言人：氣色

¹² 有關律呂，參閱陳萬鼎：《中國古代音樂研究》，（台北文史哲出版社，2000年）

¹³ 據春秋左傳注疏卷四十九，昭公二十年，見《中國音樂史料影刊本》（一）

¹⁴ 同上註

不佳、天氣良好、英雄氣短……中醫學說論氣時言：「氣為血帥，血為氣母」¹，氣又可分「營氣、衛氣……」²等，孟子言：「浩然之氣」。「氣」字依各領域的不同，所指的氣亦當有差別，而古樂舞由「氣」所建構的氛圍如何呢？春秋時，吳公子季札觀樂於魯，對古樂舞的氣氛有如下的讚嘆：「美哉，泱泱乎，大風也哉。」「直而不倨，曲而不屈，邇而不偏，遠而不攜，適而不淫……。」³此溢美之辭給予現代讀者古樂舞形體風格想像的依據。然不同時空，縱使文意、措辭相互援引，亦非等質等量之美感經驗。舞蹈——做為人類身心動態顯現於外在的形式，舞蹈者動態的體悟與觀賞者的感受，無絕對之一致性。自古迄今，跳舞的人承擔著身軀動態結構的消融與釋放。無論自發性或被動學習，舞者身心能量運作所形成之視覺秩序，涵蓋人類身心主體覺知之穩定與游離，穩定的是舞蹈者心靈空間的廣度與深度，游離者為舞者身心向外伸展時不同時空的相對應，對舞者而言，游離的不得已可能來自肉身的不可能，譬如想飛卻飛不起來，或者現實時空的侷限性，被框在鏡框式舞台的現代舞者根本已失去了自由，而被安置在禮樂文化中的古舞舞者，是否意識到社會倫理制度的制約，現代人亦不得而知，就單純的動態美感，舞蹈者只要就其自身可見與不可見的世界，累積深淺、厚薄、虛實等不同向度的動感，讓觀賞者穿透形式的面向，為舞者身心之影象做進一層之詮釋。古樂舞的創生，或僅為禮樂文化延續之一端，但就個體而言，禮樂延續與否是自外於存有覺知的另一層，並無絕對存在的必然，《呂氏春秋·古樂篇》：

昔陶唐氏之始，陰多滯伏而湛積。水道壅塞。不行其原。民氣鬱悶而滯者，筋骨瑟縮不達。故作舞以宣導之。⁴

《春秋經傳集解昭公五》亦有「古而無死，則古之樂也。」如此誇張之辭，此二則古文無非說明了古人創生古樂舞時，具有強烈的健康養身之概念。而此概念的落實，即為前文所述，由自我感官之超越，進入「氣」的體證。中國文化集儒、釋、道為一體，感官自我超越的基調並非禮樂文化的專利。《老子十二章》：

五色令人目盲，五音令人耳聾，五味令人口爽，馳騁畋獵令人心發狂……⁵

唐三藏法師譯註《般若波羅蜜多心經》時言：「無眼耳鼻舌身意，無色聲香味觸法，無眼界乃至無意識界……」⁶這些耳熟能詳的語句說明儒釋道三家通過身心體證以求超越感官的理想。禮樂舞是儒家形式的落實，而道家與佛家歷數千年之延革，門派脈絡分枝蕪茂，相關論述不勝

第二章·第一節 注釋

¹ 見崔玖：〈人體身心靈健康測試〉，（身心靈科學學述研討會，1999年12月11日）

² 陳德生：《中醫入門》，（台北文光圖書公司，1990年）

³ 《春秋經傳集解》襄公二十九，校相台岳氏本

⁴ 《呂氏春秋·古樂篇》（世界書局印行）

⁵ 楊家駱主編：《老子本義》，（世界書局印行）

⁶ 周止菴：《般若波羅蜜多心經詮注》，（華藏佛教圖書館，1994年）

枚舉，無須贅述。

舞蹈者擁有一尊實存於土壤之上的身軀，是能消融一切「氣」之主體，一旦超越感官的心障，只要是「氣」能順當地流行於身心，即化為本質之內容物。儒釋道是思維或生命終極形式的歸依，不是舞蹈者舞動身軀之當下所必須檢視的問題。古樂舞的形式，由上古迄今，緊扣著主體覺知的屬性，古人的文字仍舊不含糊地陳述著經驗者身心內在的律動，《荀子樂論》：

舞意天道兼……曷以知舞之意曰。目不自見。耳不自聞也。然而治俯仰誦信。進退遲速。莫不廉制。盡筋骨之力。以要鐘鼓俯會之節……。⁷

如此生動有力的描述，若非為文者體證之深入，何能傳千年仍感人至深？古樂之「氣」隨動態流通傳至漢代。班固《漢書禮樂志》對古樂的形容是：「夫樂本情性。泆肌膚而藏骨髓。雖經乎千載。其餘風猶烈。尚猶不絕。」⁸ 這種內化性強烈的舞蹈，漢代以前，通以古樂，或古舞稱之，漢代之後則習稱雅樂或雅舞，樂舞有「雅」名非始於漢，《毛詩·鄭箋》云：「雅，萬舞也，周樂尚舞，故謂萬舞為雅。雅，正也。」⁹ 此外，孔老夫子云：「惡鄭聲之亂雅樂也。」¹⁰ 確定了雅正與鄭聲是相對性的樂舞風格。雅樂及雅舞由漢代開始成為祭典風格的正統，此樂制歷代承襲，雖易其名不易其質，《史記·樂書》言：「五帝三王樂各殊名。示不相襲」¹¹ 又《新唐書·禮樂志》：「初隋有文舞、武舞。至祖孝孫定樂。更文舞曰治康，武舞曰凱安…唐自制凡三…。一日七德舞，二日……」¹² 依此傳承直至明朝，貴族習舞風尚漸趨冷漠，明朱載堉雖以「舞學不可廢」¹³ 為題，倡言舞教之重要，終不敵時勢潮流，原本國子才夠資格學習的古樂舞，到了明代，由伶人接手取而代之。

漢制卑者之子不得舞宗廟之酎。取品官之適子以為舞人，隋制雖不古若尚存古意，於萬一焉……。

雅樂和其血脈，養其性情，斯為得已，伶人舞則褻先王，雅樂付諸庸夫賤工斯為失矣。¹⁴

伶人在此機緣中獲得雅舞的風格，理所當然地將其風格導入戲曲。近代劇學研究者咸認戲曲之動態，保存了中國古代舞蹈之餘韻。¹⁵ 民國五十三年，中國文化學院（現中國文化大學）首創

7 《荀子學論》，（世界書局）

8 班固：《漢書禮樂志》

9 《詩經·簡兮》，另可參閱余培林：《詩經正詁》，（三民書局）

10 《論語·陽貨》校相台岳氏本

11 《史記樂書》

12 《新唐書禮樂志》，《中國音樂史料（一）》

13 《古今圖書集成經濟彙編》，見《中國音樂史料（六）》

14 明·朱載堉《樂律全書》

15 《齊如山全集》

舞蹈科，即以國劇之舞蹈、身段、武功等做為傳統民族舞蹈之基礎練習，後起之舞蹈科系亦依此課程，沿續至今。然《清稗類鈔》云：

崑曲盛於明末，清惻宛轉，聞之輒為淚下，所謂亡國之音哀以思者。正指此言。及乾隆中葉。為國朝氣運鼎盛之時。人心樂愷。行諸樂律。秦腔適應而起。雍容圓厚。所謂治世之音者也……¹⁶

撇開上文論述的價值批判，則崑、秦二腔一柔一剛，呈現的是地方文化的特質，後世興起之戲曲動態，與古代舞蹈的相續性為何頗有再斟酌之必要。依《曲學通論》例十二章，分說「曲原、宮調、調名、平仄、陰陽、作法（上、下）、論韻、正訛、務頭、十知、家數」¹⁷內文引《陳暘樂書》談「大曲前緩疊不舞，至入破則羯鼓裏鼓大鼓與絲竹合作。勾拍益集，舞者入場。…」等¹⁸。唐代大曲與詞曲之間是否有直接之相續性傳承，研究者頗多質疑。唐詩、宋詞、元曲此傳承所行，文學之傾向極深，古人依曲訴情側重者為聲律、音韻，以當代之國劇而言，舊稱京劇或平劇，余年少時猶記憶長者欣賞平劇時以聽戲為樂，閉目側聽，身隨曲韻搖晃有致，至精妙處，一聲「好」吆喝而出，滿堂呼應。換言之，不解聲韻之美者則可看戲。

近代音樂家江文也對孔子樂教之研究，開啓台灣人研究古樂舞的先河。江文也認為：「此種冷靜且嚴肅的舞，後來與儒教的倫理觀念結合在一起，不久便扭曲了舞本來的生命。即輕視身體上的聽覺或運動神經，未考慮本質，一味地想使其隸屬於倫理觀念……。」¹⁹江文也對儒家之舞的感受，不知得自於觀察，或透過《大成樂》²⁰六章的直接體會，在其文集中並無明確說明。唯思考二十世紀的台灣，其文化之傳承來自中國，而文人之思維亦以漢文化為主流，日治時期當時文人對台灣地方戲曲——歌仔戲的興起多立足於古樂舞之思維予以抨擊，「演員常隨興發揮，或插科打諢，很受觀眾歡迎。但也因此受到知識分子及警察當局的注意，他們批評歌仔戲歌調、動作淫蕩，破壞善良風俗。甚至認為歌仔戲的產生，並非台灣戲劇的提昇，而是島民膚淺的草根性，追求官能的享受……」²¹。足知，雅好正音在台灣知識階層仍見其淵源及傳承。研究者接觸相關於古樂的訊息，實來自現台北孔廟八佾舞，因就讀之中學適於孔廟附近，國文老師陳華提先生於祭孔儀式中司鼓，每逢孔子誕辰前夕，即可見佾生於孔廟中庭練習舞蹈，這種種情景為研究者探索古樂舞播下一粒影像的種子。

¹⁶ 《清稗類鈔》收錄於楊家駱主編：《中國音樂史料（六）》

¹⁷ 吳梅：《曲學通論》，（台北五元文庫，1971年）

¹⁸ 同上，頁2

¹⁹ 《江文也文學作品集》，（台北縣立文化中心，1992年），頁81

²⁰ 同上註，頁9

²¹ 邱坤良：《日治時期台灣戲劇之研究》，頁188～191。另關於「不淫」之概念，請參閱筆者〈儒家樂教原創精神對當代舞蹈藝術的價值〉，（第一屆國際儒學會議，1995年）

第二節、古舞形式之追索——中心軸的確認

人類的精神依肉體的實存得以延續，舞蹈亦然。古樂舞的思維通過文本即可解讀，如無形式的驗證，恐難確定此思維為空想或得以成真之理想。1972年研究者親赴韓國漢城研究雅樂舞，初級階段的工作為分析高麗史樂志中的唐樂呈才。¹1984年又完成了《韓國唐樂舞之研究》²。研究者對古樂舞積極之研究動機，來自1973年跳雅樂舞時自我身體經驗之衝擊，「我不見了」或「我凝固在另一個時空中，身體自發性地在動」是研究者反反覆覆不斷思考，並尋求足以說明的詞句，然身體內在的覺知，事實上是無法以文字陳述的。1976年當研究者由學生易位為教師時，如何將雅或屬雅（受雅樂舞影響）的舞蹈，通過動態轉換為具穩定質的授課方式，是研究者面臨的問題。當時台灣的舞蹈風氣西化的興味鼎盛，現代舞、芭蕾、爵士，在傳統與創新的口號中，民族舞蹈的演出也可能是西化的旋轉加入國劇的鴿子翻身。人們很快接受這種眩人耳目的形式，至於東西方肢體動態傳統上的差異，在視覺的感受中，台灣的舞者或觀者並不覺突兀。在研究者的課堂上，學生精確地掌握雅舞或屬雅風格樂舞之節奏、手足、身體之位置，然而如何觀察，對研究者而言，這群學生只學到「形」，明顯的學生遭遇到的是風格掌握的問題，是西方舞蹈動作慣性的學習方式無法消融雅舞的質，亦無能釋放雅舞的量。從二十世紀整個地球的文化生態觀察，這不是舞蹈科系學生單一的問題，是整個東方世界，文化主體的模糊及傳統美感經驗的流失。如此，由文化、社會等各個層面進行審視，研究者漸次尋找到一條古舞再生之途徑。

時代潮流的認知與機緣的成熟，研究者將教授對象由舞蹈主修的學生轉向未有舞蹈經驗的學習者，1976~1991年應為「雅樂舞先前實驗（pilot study）」的階段，研究方法以研究者自身經驗中明確的身心內在軸承為基準，試圖將動態軸承的覺知轉移到學習者的身心之中，此種動態，研究者定名為「中心軸」。「中心軸」顧名思義，其乃存在於物體中央之軸心，機器運作時，軸承擔負著穩定器械動態機制之功能，最常見的狀況是，軸承被固定在汽車輪胎之正中心，使汽車行進時四輪均勻地與地面磨擦，當輪胎之軸承未能把持穩固之中心軸線時，汽車四輪之磨損則呈不平均之狀態，如此除減低輪胎使用壽命外，汽車行進之穩定性亦受到影響。「中心軸」對人體之影響，正如軸承之於汽車輪胎，然人體這根軸線是虛實一體的，中國人所謂虛者，乃可感知而不得見者，實者乃可見亦可觸摸者，在物質形體中，中心軸雖看不見，但在人體身心覺知中，它是真實存在的。現代人在通過中心軸之測試時，身心狀態的某種動態慣性——因緊張所造成的肌肉僵硬，漸次顯現出來，研究者將此現象歸納為人體社會化過程的痕跡，因為觀察幼兒爬行學步的過程可明顯地發現，幼兒能站立的第一秒鐘，是他找到自我身心穩定的基準

¹ 研究者碩士論文：《有關唐樂呈才之研究》，（漢城，1976）

² 見拙作：《韓國唐樂舞之研究》，（台北弦歌出版社，1984）

點，換言之，雅樂舞身心動態存在著人體身心動態之根本質地³。1976年始接受中心軸訓練的學生主要為中國文化大學各科系的學生，學期末了，學生的心得報告中，總會有部分學生很自然地將中心軸的身心動態應用在書法的運筆、射箭，甚而中文系、哲學系的學生更進一步以此身心覺知去感受古人文字的身心意涵，此中把中心軸與老莊思想做聯想者為最多。如此，激發研究者由古典文獻中尋找中心軸存在的思維脈絡，而完成《雅樂舞的白話文——以樂記為例探看古樂的身體》⁴一書，文中研究者推論古樂舞的身體乃中國肢體文化的源頭，而禮、樂、射、御、書、數等六藝，皆存在著身心自我覺知的體證。⁵

因上述階段全然由研究者個人進行思考、摸索，在確定中心軸與中國傳統文化之密切性時，研究者決定公開此研究歷程，1995年「雅樂舞身體實驗一」，見行政院國家科學委員會專題研究計畫成果報告⁶，(NSC85-2413-H-034-002)。

- 1997年5月與台北石牌振興醫院合作，以醫事人員為受試群，進行中心軸訓練，此促成了1999年「原形畢露，還原入雅」之演出⁷。
- 1999年「『氣在』『中心軸』的訓練對人體軀幹之影響」(文化、氣與科技綜合研究計劃)⁸
- 2000年1月「中心軸訓練課程對產後婦女背痛之成效研究」振興復健醫學中心，院內小型學術研究計劃。⁹

此外，1997年，江之翠樂團¹⁰要求學習中心軸，並派團員參與中心軸訓練，現中心軸之訓練已成其劇團之基礎練習。

目前研究者正式受聘為財團法人振興復健醫學中心舞蹈顧問，長期與該院動態功能研究室合作，以中心軸之方法，了解中國傳統「氣」之概念的確實功能。

³ 關於中心軸請參閱「雅樂舞身體實驗(一)」(NSC85-2413-H-034-002)

⁴ 見拙作：《雅樂舞的白話文——以樂記為例探看古樂的身體》，(台北萬卷樓圖書，1994)

⁵ 同上註

⁶ 「雅樂舞身體實驗(一)」(NSC85-2413-H-034-002)，行政院國家科學委員會，專題研究計畫成果報告。

⁷ 「原形畢露，還原入雅」舞展之座談刊於1999年7月《表演藝術雜誌》。自1997年迄今，研究者與振興復健醫學中心振興雅樂舞社之合作過程，由人類學學者羅正心(現任職慈濟大學人類學研究所)進行全程之觀察記錄，該記錄報告已發表於2000年9月29日「情感、情緒與文化」學術研討會，題目為：「『原形畢露』個人主體性的展現」。

⁸ 該研究目前仍在進行追蹤中，為尚未公開之論文。

⁹ 該研究現進行中。

¹⁰ 江之翠劇團以傳統戲曲之演出為主，團長是周易昌。

第三節 中心軸身體實驗之啟示

這項研究從 1973 年研究者一次奇妙的身體經驗出發，持續二十餘年的追索，竟然由撲朔迷離的玄學而至漸次明朗的自然科學探索。對研究者而言，實感嘆中國肢體文化藝術之妙。然綜合研究者實驗所獲得的心得，中心軸的動態，原則是將人體分為（1）眼神（2）軀幹（3）上肢（4）下肢，四部分進行調整。

- （1） 眼神在體姿與地面成 90 度的狀態下，向深向遠收放。
- （2） 軀幹動態的調整重點在髖、膝、踝三個關節。
- （3） 上肢自然下沉，然反作用力需由末端（即手掌）發出。
- （4） 下肢之動態藉髖膝踝之彈性。反作用力亦需由末端（即腳掌）發出。

凡未能達中心軸基本功能者，研究者依個別之問題，設計放鬆，及身軀運作方式，供受試者練習，其基本重點大致為：

1. 人體身心之社會化烙印的提示與消除
2. 啞門至長強穴位之間氣脈的流動
3. 氣沉身體末端，以最少力量完成各式肢體動態

直至今日為止，實驗成果顯示，運用上項原則進行調整，人體將身心漸次敏銳，進而能自我省視並獲得身心動態之改善。曾參與實驗的受試者包括古琴、聲樂、南管、國劇、國術、醫事人員及目前尚未正式統計之生活動態功能異常者，如精神官能異常、失眠等患者。

中心軸所存在之本質，提供人類還原自我的另一條路，它具有玄虛難解，但可漸行發掘的途徑，經由中心軸，人類可漸次還原自我中心。而這些生命的提示，皆是不假外求，與生俱來存在於人類身心自體，此正如《禮記樂記》所言：

人生而靜，天之性也。感於物而動，性之欲也。物至知知。然後好惡，形焉。好惡無節於內。知誘於外，不能反躬。天理滅矣。

古樂思維之重點即如此簡易而真實，此道理千古不易。研究者為證明上述古樂身心思維切入人體身心之原創性，於 1997 年曾以五名幼稚園至國小三年級的兒童為例，以眼、耳、鼻、舌、身、意等感官之理性（非主觀）為目的，將上述古樂之思維植入現代兒童之身心，並觀察兒童之反應，本實驗原則上要求家長共同參與。下列方法中，A 代表研究者所設計之方法，B 為家長之觀察，合計為期四週，每週一次，每次約一小時三十分。

（A）對象：5—10 歲之國小兒童五名

時間：民國八十六年七月至八月間共計四週

地點：內湖高中馮老師家

第一週

味覺：兒童品嚐杏圓、蘿蔔乾、茶葉，說出該項食物的味道為何，並以文字記錄之。避免以個

人主觀之感知評斷食物好吃或不好吃。

動態：母子相互擁抱，做踩腳前進後退之遊戲。

節奏：慢節奏之強調與訓練。

第二週

嗅覺：薄荷、紫蘇、香椿。

強調客觀陳述避免好聞不好聞之說辭。

動態：自我身軀結構之認知。

人體解剖圖簡要說明。

後軟翻。

節奏：快慢節奏之質量。

快慢節奏之質量與行為表達的相關性。

慢而輕，快而輕。

慢而重，快而重。

第三週

聽覺：十二音階以外的音。

動態：覺察自我動態之質量。

繩子的遊戲。

倒立爬牆。

節奏：可數的節奏與感受性的節奏。

第四週

聽覺：尋找不同於十二音階的聲音及秩序。

聽雅樂。

動態：行為表達的多面性。

動靜之間的身與心。

動中靜，靜中動。

節奏：身心節奏調節之自我感知。

跪、坐、立、中心軸。

(B) 記錄：邱媽媽

暑假期間陳玉秀老師指導孩子們的學習

時間：86年7月12日

地點：邱同學家的客廳

上課流程及內容：

(一) 品嚐：

1. 準備數種可以用嘴品嚐的東西切成小丁塊。
2. 先用鼻子聞並寫出自己的感覺。(不可用好不好聞描寫)
3. 再用嘴巴慢慢含、慢慢嚼，感覺其過程中給自己的感覺。再將它記錄下來(不可以只用好不好吃表示)。

*這活動最直接的訓練就是由感覺寫出不同的形容語詞。讓孩子活用所學的辭彙，並發明新的用法。

*這也是要訓練傳達要客觀詳述，不可以加入個人主觀的感受，更不可以強迫別人一定要與你有相同的看法。

(二) 遊戲:

1. 大人小孩面對面站，孩子將雙腳板踩在大人腳上。
 2. 這時兩人的方位相反，先由孩子指揮，以指揮者的方向作參考點，移動腳板的大人須留意左右前後相反。
 3. 交換練習。(大人腳不須踩在孩子腳上，只須腳指頂腳指推移即可)
- *這是利用相互的方位玩遊戲。要相對方位清楚，且能靜心思考就不容易犯錯。
*這相對方位的活動也可以玩照鏡子的遊戲。

(三) 觀賞:

1. 觀賞別人一般的走路。(沒有一模一樣的個體)
 2. 從走路的節奏變化，快變慢。
 3. 再從看中模仿作。看似容易，作時確是問題重重。
- *凡是不要一看到馬上以個人的情緒作任何的判斷。
*自己確實作了或瞭解了才可以去批評和評斷。
- PS. 本次上課重點：對任何事物的觀察或處理，多以客觀理性的態度去處理，千萬不可以個人情緒來作任何的處理判斷。這樣過生活會過得比較快樂。

■ 時間：86年7月26日

地點：邱同學家

上課流程與內容:

(一) 欣賞觀摩上次交待的作業，用客觀仔細的觀察寫生畫下葉子的結構。

(二) 感覺的練習:

1. 利用鐵琴發出的音，找出生活中那些說話的辭彙與其變化相同的音。
2. 由身體本身發出聲音，再借身體引外物發出聲響，並使其作有規則的節奏。(有規則令人容易接受)
3. 探討規則與不規則變化所造成的影響。(心跳脈膊)
4. 多讓孩子體會自己身體的每一個動的感覺。

(三) 平衡的技巧:

1. 利用繩子的鬆緊讓對方失去平衡。(須動腦用點技巧)
2. 腰部運動，臀部繞圈。(其它部位放鬆)

(四) 腰力及手臂力道的訓練：(靠牆倒立)

雙手撐地(手掌分開)，雙腳往牆上踢，後腦頭可以先靠牆(頭下方可放一軟墊)。

(五) 找身體平衡軸的方法：(推牆反彈)

1. 全身由頭頂頸椎到脊椎到腳成一直線放鬆，力量集於腳掌雙腳併攏。
2. 身體推向牆時仍成一直線並放鬆，雙掌伸出用力推回並放鬆仍成一直線倒在老師身上。
3. 反覆多練習放鬆全身找出平衡軸。

*孩子無法集中精神學習或過度好動，很可能是脊椎上有異樣。可以往這方面留意。

*情緒不佳時請適時給與發洩，轉移出氣的方式，不造成彼此的傷害為最佳選擇。(應用握緊拳頭洩氣)

*日本式的跪坐，可以訓練腰部放鬆。(身體左右擺動，頭上須放書)

■ 時間：86年8月2日

地點：邱同學家

上課流程及內容：

(一) 探討不同國家，不同的民情就有不同的生活習慣。所以不可以再以個人主觀及喜惡的態度去評論。

(二) 欣賞古樂：(閉眼欣賞，說出聽後的感覺像什麼)

*要怎樣動才讓自己最舒服，馬上試驗放鬆跪臥的睡姿並感覺是否較佳。

(三) 動中靜，靜中動：(放鬆)

1. 先瞭解句中的含義。舉例說明：寫字(靜中動)，跳舞(動中靜→集中精神不易跌倒)

*動中動，長期生活習慣處於此狀態有害身心。

2. 利用深呼吸靜下來才能學習。

3. 跪在地上，腳尖撐地靠攏，臀部坐小腿上，利用深呼吸吐完氣臀部離腿，再利用深呼吸吐完氣坐下時，腳尖踩下時應用反作用力站起。

*身體放鬆，利用最少的力氣站起。也就是利用頭頂軸心拉起，眼看最深處。這就是靜中動的最佳寫照。

*做此動作可以看出孩子的耐性與定力。

■ 時間：86年9月19日

地點：邱同學家

上課流程及內容：

(一) 感覺訓練：

1. 利用嗅覺及觸覺的感官去感受薄荷葉、紫蘇等東西給自己的感覺。

2. 用筆記錄下來不包含個人主觀的看法。

3. 有那些不同的形容辭彙。

*較上次進步，能很快專注的用感官去仔細研究，辭彙也較多且能突破傳統的聯想。

(二) 認識身體的結構：

1. 介紹脊椎，半立體資料書的吸引，進一步實際摸索應證。(引起學習動機是相當重要的)

2. 骨骼的介紹，觀察並實際摸出不同位子不同的結構。

3. 內臟的分布。

4. 再將身體分為頭、軀幹、四肢，並討論各個的重要性。

(三) 四肢運動：利用意識控制雙手不同的節奏。(右2左3必須集中精神才不易弄錯)

(四) 脊椎運動：像貓遇危急時將脊椎拱起。壓住命門(肚臍正後方)作脊椎上下運動。

(五) 注意動的方式：聯想日常生活中的每一件事物給與他的感覺。先用摸手的感覺表達

下面四種情形：

1. 慢而輕(吃棒棒糖)

2. 慢而重(生氣)

3. 快而輕(碰到燙的)

4. 快而重(打人)

利用這四種動作也可以有規則的打出節奏。

* 男孩對動的方式比較不自發性去感覺，請多給與機會去觸摸。孩子也很容易辨別這四種動的感覺並能舉一反三。

* 這四種動作要均衡，才有健全的生活。否則會不協調。

(六) 後軟翻(要輕又慢)：雙手於耳邊用力撐住，身體須放鬆軟，一腳先抬起，另一腳用力蹬踢將身體帶過去。(以上動作是仰躺於老師腿上完成的)

PS. 結束敬禮的方式，也因人而異另創風格。

結論是幼兒思維之接納度極為寬廣，而成年人反而對幼兒的反應充滿驚奇，見家長所提之心得如下：

這真是很偶然的機緣，讓我認識了陳老師，也讓我的孩子接受到一種從沒有過的全新「經驗」。

陳老師給我的感覺是——她像一座寶山，我好想要挖掘，卻由於自己才疏學淺，讓我無從著手——只好空望寶山而興嘆！

陳老師每一次上課的內容，對我而言，都有一種震撼的感覺，她短短幾十分鐘帶給孩子的課題，我們窮畢生之力也許都無法完成，無法達到，可是卻從孩子的口中那麼輕鬆的就做到了。

例如，她讓孩子認真的、定心的、全心全意地去品嚐一些食物，然後要她們說出對這些食物的感覺，這真是一種奇妙的經驗，經由這種方式，小孩真能說出一些特殊的感覺，如「好……」，而不只是以「好吃」或「不好吃」這麼簡單的二分法來作評斷。

她也讓孩子去聞一些有特殊味道的食物，孩子亦能說出它們的感覺，這些辭彙精妙超乎我的想像，如「……」，仔細想想，其實是自己的感覺遲鈍，已將一切感覺公式化、形式化，沒有靜心、用心、專心地品嚐，並善用每一個感官！

我不禁在想，如果隨時都能經由此種方式來啟發孩子的感覺，長期下來，他們必定隨時都可以集中心志來感覺，甚至思考事物，在學習效果上必定驚人，所謂的「專心致志」。

有一天，我牽著三歲小女兒爬樓梯。樓梯的設計很人性化，有顧慮到小孩，因而台階高度比一般矮，小女兒走著走著，突然說：「媽媽，這樓梯怎麼扁扁的？」當時的我乍聞「扁扁」二字，不覺驚愕——我從來未想到以此二字形容樓梯，可是不可否認的，這是多麼貼切的形容詞啊！這不正印證了陳老師的理論——很多本能是小孩原本就擁有的，是天生的，造物主的恩賜是極為豐富的。很可惜，由於後天環境的壓抑，教育設計上的忽略，及公式化答案的要求，這些潛能隨著年齡的增長，在僵化的標準下漸漸消失。

思考至此，做為一位家長不免深深期盼，在若干年後，當我女兒逐漸成長，卻依然保有「扁扁樓梯」這分精妙的感覺，可是，在現今的教材設計上，有此可能嗎？

依上述實驗，研究者發現孩子在如此幼小的年齡，身心已開始有了焦急、壓抑、緊張及體姿不良的傾向，此或為現代台灣教育工作者應注意的問題。

結 論

由多年之身體實驗，無論個人主觀感受或數據上客觀之分析，中心軸的動態運作所欲強

化的是人類身心動態之本質，本質的深化使人體身心趨向穩定、堅實；反之，身體動態的偏差及心境之不穩定將蘊釀身心相互影響的因子。中心軸的建構，來自古舞身心思維中本質的設定，以此剖解人體社會化過程殘留的痕跡，喚起人類身心同步自省，進而還原人類本質的敏感度，自我進行調適。近年來，本實驗漸漸獲得傳統藝術工作者的共鳴，許多傳統藝術工作者亦肯定中心軸之簡易及深入。當然，以內化為主旨的中心軸，因身心本質之要素，對一切器樂的操作，甚而聲樂家內在主體覺知的掌握，皆具有一定程度的基礎性。事實是，在無法完成各項傳統文化性身體的檢驗之前，順應台灣社會的要求，由古樂舞研究所衍生的中心軸之身心運作，已不斷對社會做技術性的轉移。依本研究初始之構想，原以建構中國傳統文化身體為指標，試圖以中心軸為手段，切入各傳統藝術之身心運作，進行科學化的驗證，譬如，研究者觀察台灣小學生在練習書法時，身心氣量滯礙難出，體勢僵硬的執筆模式只能是字帖中形的描繪，學童無有能力接應古人字帖形質的氣韻。依此，身體實驗可分對照、實驗兩組，將兩組學童學習過程，詳盡記錄，評估兩組受試群的反應，做為改善傳統書藝教學的依據，豈不善哉。依本質之原則，對孩童評量的準則著重人體身心資質的穩定及能量釋放的厚度，如此，書法形式的顯現，或可再造更具創意的書法藝術。到底中國傳統藝術強調的是人性的存養與修身，依此類推凡中國傳統藝術，如崑曲、南管、古琴、八佾、雅樂、太極等，先解構其形，緊扣其主體身心運作之質量，再以身心整體動態之圓滿為體證，如此，久而久之，將凝聚一股合而不同之質量，使傳統文化的美感經驗，再度回歸中國人的身心。古樂舞是否得以再生，實繫於身心實證之累積。由藝術風格的觀點，古樂舞的形式乃中國樂舞文化思維的落實，單調質樸的動態，淡然地沉澱人類身心的厚度，主體覺知是身心內化的入門，收得進來的精神，凝聚了本質自足的氣勢。這種身心風格，是人人可以依「道」獲「得」的「德」，因此也是不分東方西方，凡人類皆有搜索此內在深層的衝動。二十世紀西方的雕塑家羅丹（August Rodin）在塑造大文豪巴爾扎克（Balzac. H）時是：

所有的生命從一個中心點蜂擁而來，自內向外擴張，在素描裡，要觀察它的深度感，而不是外線輪廓，深度感決定了外形。……做為一個藝術家之前，必先做為一個人。

1

正是這份信念使羅丹跨出感官的觸動，直接涉獵了巴爾扎克由精神凝聚而成的生命氣度。而中國的老祖宗在數千年前就如此有系統的經由身心本質的強化，告知子孫，超越感官可見的平面，體證心靈存在的厚度。古樂在易名為雅樂後，風彌了整個漢字文化圈，日本、韓國仍舊戮力保存。今年九月初，研究者訪談了舞蹈人類學者趙綺芳女士，談及琉球的宮廷舞蹈，其步態與太極拳很接近。依研究者之見解，只因當代中國人的生活領域缺乏古樂舞的體現，而太極的盛行，使琉球人士對其宮廷舞蹈傳承，引太極之形為聯想，仍必然之道理，唯太極始於明代，

¹ Herbert Read 著，李長俊譯：《現代雕塑史》，（台北大陸書店，1990）

² 趙綺芳，台大人類學系畢，現於英國攻讀博士。

可能僅是中國古樂舞肢體形成的另一支流。古樂舞思維及中心軸運作的簡易，除說明古樂舞人體動態之原創性，由雅樂舞在亞洲世界的傳播狀況，亦證明了古樂舞人體動態美感的可接受性。現代人對古樂舞身心美感的疏離是人性質變與量變的結果，非古樂舞曲高和寡之罪過。

總體而言，古樂舞研究到目前，僅是階段性的完成，未來發展如何，在醫事人員、各門藝術界人士的加入後或有進一步的成果及發現，研究者亦無法預知。克就古樂舞身心思維的哲理而言，乃人類文明由深入淺、化繁為簡的不二法門。近代中國人在政爭中，文化崇尚已兵分二路，中國大陸以馬克斯、恩格斯之社會主義為信條，傳統文化的重視到底是為因應觀光事業的需求，或一反文革時反四舊的心態，平心靜氣重新面對自己老祖宗的文化遺產？研究者未做深入的理解。然從當代大陸舞蹈發展之現象觀之，未見「對人之尊重及人類本質之提醒」，如此，中國舞蹈藝術發展之種種，也不外乎趣舍滑心的感官順流，或政治媒體炒作的物質依據，此對人性、身心靈之提昇，裨益有限。台灣人承繼中國文化之精髓，在享受了半個世紀物質的繁華與穩定，如何由個人生命主體覺知的醒悟，進而建構文化生命之主體。古樂舞再深入之探索，及古樂舞身心主體覺知之再生，或可提供一條進階的道路。

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期刊論文

1. 崔 玖，〈人體心靈的健康測試〉，中國生命電磁科學學會，1999年12月。

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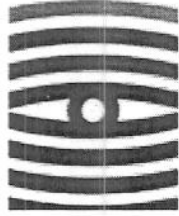
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亞太傳統藝術論壇
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高棉傳統建築的變革
Evolution of Khmer Vernacular Architecture

沙惹·列可(柬埔寨)
Dr. Sareth Lek (Cambodia)

行政院文化建設委員會 指導
Directed by the Council for Cultural Affairs,
The Executive Yuan, R.O.C.
國立傳統藝術中心籌備處 主辦
Hosted by the Preparatory Office of
National Center for the Traditional Arts
國立藝術學院 承辦

Plan for the symposium on the Evolution of the Khmer Architecture

Dr. Sareth Lek

I - Environment, Geographical and Ecological Evaluation of Cambodia

Cambodia is one of the countries in Southeast Asia and lies between 10 to 15 degrees north of the Equator and 102 to 108 longitudes East. It is bordered by Vietnam to the East and to the South, Thailand to the North and Northwest, and Laos to the Northeast. Two thirds of the country is flat and drains into the Mekong River.

The total of territory is about 181 035 square kilometers and can be divided into two geographical regions: (1) the mountains, highlands, plateaus and (2) the central plain.

The first region includes the two major mountain chains known as the Elephant and Cardamons mountains along the western and northern boundaries. In general the mountains are densely forested and largely unpopulated save for a few minority groups.

The second region covers about one third of the country and supports 90% of population. It has four different ecosystems: a- the riverbanks, b- the lowlands, c- the upper terrace and d- the Great Lake plain around the Tonle Sap.

The Climate is tropical monsoon and it is characterized by two seasons: rainy season from May-October and dry season November-April. The temperature is between 27-35 degree Celsius. In 1999 the Population is estimated to be around 12 million.

II - A brief history of Temples

The Khmer people have an ancient history, having occupied the area that is referred to as Cambodia since the beginning of recorded history some 4,000 years ago. The earlier parts of this history are still obscure. Cambodia traces its origins back to the union of a foreign and a local naga-princess, whose father ruled a water-drenched land. According to the one version of the story a Brahman named Kaundiya married the princess. The king and princess built a capital and changed the name of country (Nokor Phnom) to Kambuja. The achievement of Khmer Temples Architecture

has started from the beginning of the history of Nokor Phnom until the departure from Angkor in 15 century. The Khmer Temples can be divided by their style, the style is the name of the principle Temple such as :

- 1- Phnom Da Style- from 1st to 6th century.
- 2- Sambo Style- in mid of 1st to 7th century.
- 3- Preikhmeng Style- in mid of 2nd to 7th century.
- 4- Kampong Preah Style- in 8th century.
- 5- Kulen Style – in 9th century.
- 6- Preah Ko Style – in 9th century.
- 7- Phnom Bakheng Style – at the end of 9th century and the beginning of 10th century.
- 8- Koh Ker Style – in 10th century.
- 9- Pre Rup Style- in 10th century.
- 10- Bantey Srei Style – in mid of 10th century.
- 11- Kheing Style – at the end of 10th century and in 11th century.
- 12- Bapuon Style – in mid of 11th century.
- 13- Angkor wat Style – in mid of 12th century.
- 14- Bayon Style – in mid of 12th century and beginning 13th century.

According to the significant period of evolution of architecture, the Khmer Temples can be divided into two principle periods: Pre Angkor Period an Angkor Period.

*** Pre-Angkor Period (1st-8th century)**

The earlier period of Cambodian history as largely based upon Chinese dynastic histories. Nokor Phnom (Funan) was said to be founded in the south of Cambodia in the vicinity of Angkor Borei where numerous of artifacts have been recovered. There is ample evidence that they entered into trade relations with both India and China through the port city of Oc-Eo.

In actuality the cultural transformation of ancient Khmer was understandably complex, involving both the traditions of India, including Sanskrit, Hinduism and Buddhism, and the traditions of Cambodia such as Khmer, local mythology and folk religion. The various design features can examine the evolution of Khmer architectural tradition: plan, elevation, building materials, decorative motifs and placement.

- Structure and Design:

Typically such structures are square or rectangular in plan with plan walls, framed by pilasters. Certain temples elaborated upon the simple square plan by addition of projections. In some case a vestibule appears in front of the main cell, but regardless of these variations the superstructure of the primary cell served as the focus of the structure. The superstructure of the square plan was usually a staged pyramid. Occasional octagonal structures are also known, their superstructures roughly resembling those of simple, square prasats. Significant among such early structures of this stage are: Prasat Preah, Banteay prei Nokor, Sambor Prei Kuk and Wat Phu's Prasat Baran.

The temples of this period are usually located on raised ground in low-lying regions, on the mountain, and usually in valleys. The majority is roughly oriented to the east, but these are notable exceptions reflecting topographically considerations or the interrelationship of one structure to another. Each temple typically stood alone, but groups of two or three or more were frequently found aligned in haphazard fashion that suggests spontaneous expansion.

Noteworthy is clear correlation between interior space and exterior form. Architects employed the corbelled vault for narrow entrances and a series of successive drums to support the superstructure. The interiors of such domed areas were typically masked by a low ceiling formed of perishable materials, which have long since disappeared.

- Fabric:

The architecture of the Pre-Angkor period was fashioned largely of brick, and feature stone in an accessory role around the doors and windows. The decorative motifs are identifiable by their relative simple shapes. Over time their forms and placement become increasingly sophisticated, reflecting their less squat proportions.

The structures seem to have survived because of the durable materials used. With the exception of certain city walls, bridges, or public works these structures are largely religious in character. Since practically all the secular, and much of the religious architecture was wood it has perished, leaving little information about its design or appearance. It is only through its stucco

representation on brick walls and in stone bar-reliefs that conclusions can be drawn of the influence that the wooden structures had on those fashioned from the more permanent materials.

In brick construction, bricks were laid in courses, often with no mortar and were held in position through the combined application of friction and a kind of vegetable-derived adhesive, for which the recipe has long since been lost. The joints were virtually invisible and still seem to be able at some level to resist collapse, the bricks ultimately splitting before giving way at the joints. The lateral joints are less solid, presumably due to insufficient lateral pressure and the carelessness with which the individual bricks were bonded. Vertical fractures are therefore not uncommon. Bricks were sometimes carved after being placed and covered with a plaster-like substance which permitted the chiseling of a decoration that was probably also polychrome.

Apart from the bricks employed in the Pre-Angkor period, laterite was found throughout Cambodia. It was a common building material. In the early developmental stages local sandstone was reserved for decorative colonettes, door and window frames, lintel and limited carving, over time its use increased until the building of some of the great temples of the Angkor group.

Samples of significant feature of some temples:

Prasat Sambor Prei Kuk- the structures were built separately in group with the rectangular and octagon plan, on the same terrace in the reign of Iscanavarman I. The Temple was built for the symbol of religion represented by Linga (Civa), faced to the East. The main body materials were brick, decorated by sand stone door and window frames, lintel and colonnetes. Laterite were used to built wall of the side, and wood was used for door. The stucco were used to decorate exterior surface. The decoration elements were false door, pilaster, lintel and colonnete decorated with vegetation carving.

* Angkor Period

The Angkorian history commences in the year 802, the date associated with Jayavarman II's consecration as "Universal Emperor" at Angkor region. By the 9th century a powerful civilization had emerged, with its capital variously located at series localities in the Angkor region. An advanced system of irrigation from the Tonle Sap and the Mekong River was developed at that time which

provided the basic for a flourishing realm. The Temples in Angkor period can be selected by its significance and date as below:

Prasat Bakong and Preah Ko, significant among the developments at Roluos are the single prasats aligned systematically in groups of six or eight and raised on a laterite platform. The individual cells were fashioned of brick and complemented by pseudo-functional emendations in sandstone (colonettes, lintels, niches etc.).

By this period temples with a single redent on each face predominate, and rectilinear plans are reserved for accessory structures such as libraries and galleries, which begin to be produced in stone. The simple cell temple such as those encountered at Roluos typically consists of a central body and a superstructure of four stories of diminishing sizes. The principal cell exhibits three false doors and one true one that generally opens to the east unless its relationship to the other structures necessitates some adjustment to this general rule.

The interpilasters are characteristically provided with niches carved from stone and featuring the unframed head of the divinity housed within. Miniature edifices vanish from the decorative vocabulary of the architect and the superstructures become more elongated with niches dramatically featured on each story. Noteworthy among the architectural innovations of this period are gopura and libraries.

A significant development at Roluos is that each group of structures was surrounded by concentric enclosures. Whole enclosures were known as early as Banteay Prei Nokor, those at Roluos are the first to be fashioned in a concentric arrangement: the two inner ones of laterite with true and false gopuras at each entrance; and an outer enclosure consisting of a moat and an earthen embankment with a wooden palisade.

Supplementary buildings were positioned within the second enclosure. Such design innovations ultimately combine with the later abandonment of the terrace pyramid to create a pseudo-terraced structure fashioned from concentric galleries.

The first terrace pyramid which first appeared at Mahendraparavata (Phnom Kulen) and possibly at Amarendrapura (Ak Yom), is given particular prominence, as exemplified by the architectural triad comprised of Phnom Bakheng, Phnom Bok and Phnom Krom, each of which was built upon natural hill site. Not only does the quincunx arrangement of the crowning superstructure of towers introduced at Phnom Bakheng establish a popular pattern for some time to come, but its

greater size and complexity initiates a period of architectural experimentation. At Bakheng the sandstone prasat is reinterpreted as decorative element, dramatically marking the apex. Additionally, its laterite terraces are entirely faced in sandstone. Baksei Chamkromg introduced the idea of more slender proportions and an exaggerated angle of repose.

Prasat Banteay Srei can be presented as the architectural magnificent structure of this style. On the one hand it exhibits certain features of the structural group at Koh Ker and anticipates the fluidity and refined proportions more typically associated with the classic style. The structures display a variety of plans. Some are simple cell prasats isolated as at Lak Nan, aligned in groups of three as at Bat Chum, Elevated on a high terraced pyramid such as Baksei Chamkromg, or arranged in quincunx on a terraced pyramid as at Mebon or Pre Rup. Still other structures like Preah Vihear, located in the Dangreeks, integrate variations of all these different designs into a single axial plan pitched on a high promontory. The decorative tendencies of this period are less noteworthy, largely reflective of an attempt to expand upon an earlier vocabulary of form developing a newer, more innovative character. The simple arch motif of the formative period reappears in a complex arrangement of frontons positioned over temple entrances (Banteay Srei) in anticipation of their reinterpretation under Jayavaarman VII as frames for the Lokesvara faces which dominate the temple and gopura prasats.

Banteay Srei marked the end of the plastered brick prasat, these structures being largely fashioned of laterite with an extended use of sandstone for decorative purposes. Brickwork was greatly reduced. Significant among the constructional developments was the introduction of timber beams, previously used as lintels to support the masonry across openings. They were set flush in channels cut into the sandstone blocks to avoid their intrusive impact on the aesthetic qualities of the structure. Noteworthy among the boldly arched frontons positioned over the doorways, each intricately carved with scenes from the Ramayana or with vegetal ornamentation.

Prasats Takeo, Kleang and Phimeanakas were among the significant temples of this period. Significant aspects of this period are the continued construction of terraced pyramids, which consistently sustained sandstone prasats: the development of stone vaulted galleries and the creation of cruciform gateways at the temples cardinal directions. The primary orientation was generally to the east and decoration can be characterized as being more refined than its antecedents.

Baphoun represents a further step on the development of the Khmer temple, with its multiple terraced and concentric galleries (second and fifth terraces) and attendant gopuras and corner pavilions.

The most significant Temple in this period was Angkor Wat that was built in the reign of Suryavarman II, who was as great a builder as he was a religious reformer. Among the several structures credited to him are the temples of Preah Pithu, Chausay Tevoda, Thommanon, Banteay Samre, and , of course the crowning glory of Khmer architectural tradition, Angkor Wat. After the Baphoun the terraced pyramid temple seems to have gone into a decline, being replaced by the temples whose concentric arrangement of enclosures and galleries permitted the effect of a mountain temple or Mt Meru without the complex engineering of multiple terraces. Significant is the importance still placed upon arranging the primary prasats in quincunx (Angkor Wat) and the eastern orientation (Chausay Tevoda; Thommanon; Banteay Samre). The roofing materials of these structures tended to be of light perishable materials such as tiles.

Angkor Wat illustrating a significant number of changes evidenced in the structures of Beng Mealea and Preah Palilay. Beng Mealea was largely a training group for the ultimate culmination of the style exhibited at Angkor Wat. Here the three inner enclosures were tied together with an intricate system of galleries, somewhat simplified later when intergraded into the design of Angkor Wat. The galleries were vaulted in stone and supported by stone pillars on laterite bases. The enclosing of wooden beams within sandstone doorframes was abandoned. The principal innovation was the development of the cruciform terrace, interrupted the axial causeways and consisted of two levels, reflecting its ultimate function like a platform for the public appearances of king and his court. The whole would have been surrounded with a naga balustrade.

While the galleries at Beng Mealea are significant wider than its antecedents and vaulted entirely with stone with a solid wall on one side and pillars on the other, they were poorly constructed. The lesson learned here enabled the fabrication of the sandstone-vaulted galleries of Angkor Wat with its extensively sculpted reliefs that are featured in the third gallery, and for which the structure has gained considerable renown. The cruciform covered gallery, which served to connect the galleries of different terraces seems to have evolved from the bi-level cruciform terrace anticipated in the preceding period.

The last style of the Angkor period was in the reign of Jayavarman VII. It was the frenetic building campaign of Jayavarman VII which has left us the majority of architectural evidence for the Angkor period. While it is difficult to ascertain the number and the variety of structures that might have been destroyed in the wake of his creative explosion, it is clear that the temples, hospitals, chapels and countrywide infrastructure are ample testimony to the height of Cambodia aesthetic and engineering acumen.

Noteworthy among such achievements is the magnificent Bayon temple and its affiliated counterparts, Preah Khan and Ta Prom. Additional note should be paid to the small but delightful structure of Neak Pean and its surrounding water tank. The vast number of works sponsored by his ambitious ruler was a culmination of all developmental increments that preceded them. Ultimately products of Jayavarman VII's reign must be regarded as the flowering of Khmer architectural tradition as well as the start of its decline.

*** After Angkor Period**

The period after the reign of Jayavarman VII (1220) underlines the end of an era and the end of the massive building campaign. It also marks the beginning of the ultimate decline of the Khmer empire, the dissolution of its various territories and the commencement of period of unrest. In 1432 King Pongneayat moved the capital from Angkor to Phnom Penh.

There is no clear information on the Khmer architecture after the decline of Angkor until the French came (1863). The basic information on the Khmer architecture is upon the " Words " that were told from grand parents to grand children. Instead of using the durable old traditional materials and methods of construction to build the temples, the Khmer used perishable materials like wood and clay tiles to build religious structures like pagodas. But the shape and the form of the buildings are still unsure. Later the Khmer started to use new materials like cement and concrete mixed with former materials to build structures. One significant structure of this period is the Stupa on the top of Wat Phnom, that was built during the reign of King Pongneayat.

III- Images of Khmer Architecture from ancient carving and drawings

*** From the Temples**

To record the technique, methodology of construction, life style and other events of that time, the Khmer ancestors used carving art on the wall of temples. The valuable pictures from the carving walls of the Bayon Temple could provide a lot of information and some information and ideas on the buildings in Angkor period. They also kept their records on black painted skin of deer and wrote with hard and white soil. But unfortunately these records have disappeared.

On the report of the Chinese envoy, Chev Tavkvan, he observed that the royal residence, residences of the high officers, and the residences of rich people were facing to the East. They were large and different from those simple people. The Royal Palace covered with lead tiles. Other residences were built from wood, and covered with clay tiles. The pillars and doorframes were decorated with carving or painting. Clay tiles also covered Vihears of pagodas.

The dwellings of simple people were built from wood and covered by woven thatch or palm leaf. The size of dwellings depended on the affluence of owners, but never bigger than those of the high classes. One, two and three continuous gables were used. According to the climate and environment in the warm and humid atmosphere of tropical countries, the dwellings were built raised off the ground and perched on stilts. In every village there was one pagoda or one temple.

The carved walls of the Bayon temple showed several kinds of buildings, shelter or hut that were built from the local materials like: wood, thatch, straw and leaf of tree, They range from the simple to complicated shape, form, and decoration. The roof shape has important elements of architecture and later became the style for Khmer houses.

- Simple roof shape (gable or Khmer) covered with woven thatch, or straw, or palm leave. The pillars were big if compared with the span of structure, and started directly from raised ground.
- For long shelters the simple roof shapes were the same, but were constructed in different levels. In general a high-level roof started from middle.
- Sometimes structures had cross shape form roof, a little bit curved at the edge. Pillars looked big and decorated with capital.
- Some had staircase up to the floor level.

*** From the Pagodas,**

After the 15-century the stone, laterite and the old brick huge structures were no more represented. The local and traditional materials like: wood with new brick and cement were used as the main materials of Khmer architecture. For religion and society purposes the ancient Khmer designed and built pagodas instead of temples. To record or describe stories of Buddha or Ramayana, or any legend stories, the Khmer used paintings on walls and on ceilings of the Vihear (main building in Pagoda). Only a few wall paintings of about hundred or two hundred years old can be found, but in bad condition. Many older paintings maybe existed, but have not survived to present day, because of perishable materials and lack of preservation. Along with stories, the paintings also presented several kinds of houses.

Simple gable roofs were almost same shapes as in the Angkor period. The structures were built on raised platforms in high land and on stilts in low land and on the riverbanks. The continuous gable roof form of structures was very common. Some structures were shown an evolution of new roofs by adding small roofs below and along main roofs, or some time small roofs were built around main roofs. The idea of adding small roofs is reasonable, because they provided more shade to the houses, and protection from rain.

IV- Khmer Beliefs about house building

Besides Buddhist and Hindu beliefs, the Khmer ancestors had their animist beliefs about natural forces, and they thought that all nature had abstract soul and abstract effective forces. They choose stone block assuming the representative of natural force that they respected and called it as Neakta. There were Water Neakta, Soil Neakta, Fire Neakta, Air Neakta, Mountain Neakta, and so on. Aside from Neakta, Nature also was the representative of ancestors who had passed away, but they still looked after and provided goodness and happiness to the villagers, like Red Neck Neakta. The religion of Neaktaism is not further developed, because it was preliterate, but it continues to live on in Khmer heart, and became a Khmer traditional belief. At present Cambodia is known as the Buddhist culture, but in reality the Khmer mix Buddhism with other traditional beliefs such as Brahmanism and animism. These beliefs have become a practical concept of Khmer life and even in the architecture. Because of the location of Cambodia in monsoon tropic and because of the rich fertile soil, Cambodia is traditionally an agrarian country, that could not be disconnected from water. These Khmer beliefs influence the following principles in architecture and construction:

* Selecting materials for house buildings

The selection of material here means the section of wood for pillars, because pillars were the main support element of the Khmer house. Wood was the only one practical material (organic and local) in all constructions in former times, excepted the temples. Because Khmer land was rich forested (easy to find) and because of Khmer religious beliefs the selection wood was very common. At present time because of shortage of wood and because of new materials of construction, the beliefs have nearly disappeared in urban areas. The following are the main taboos and restraints of wood selection:

- Chheu Pomsambork- has bark goes into sapwood, it will bring the bad luck to the owner.
- Chheu Konlorng- has four or five eyes at same level, that will cause chronic disease.
- Chheu Chrouk Trados- has eye at about .50 m from ground that can be rubbed by wild pig. It will bring bad luck.
- Chheu Voirpoit- is surrounded by vine, reach into the sapwood. It will bring bad luck.
- Chheu Prohongknong- is hollow from button to top. It is not strong enough.
- Chheu Touldangkut- is a wood that according to traditional belief after cutting stays on its cutting base.

* Location

The location of a dwelling in a lot was an important point that the Khmer ancestors have passed down to new generations. For that reason earth testing must be done. If the earth has a sour taste, it is bad, fortune will depart from this place. If the earth tastes sweet, the place is ordinary and suitable for habitation. If it is bitter, those who stay will not prosper. If it is salty, catastrophe awaits.

Orientation is also essential. The entrance of a house usually faces east to reflect as human life cycle. The east is associated with good luck. Logically it allows sunlight to enter and warm house in morning, and avoids heat in late afternoon. In general house front plays more important role than the rear.

Once the location and orientation were selected the following points must be avoided in the placement of houses:

- Not to place house on the axis of the lot.
- Do not place the house on a cart way.

- Do not place the house in front of a Vihear.
- Dyke or levee in a rice field should not be directly to the front of houses.
- Do not have a Ampil Tree in the south of the house.
- Do not have a water well in the west of houses.

*** Design function**

Spans or spaces play a very important role in the function for the Khmer design. The Khmer designed and built these spaces at different levels depending on the function of each room. They organized the spaces of house as followings:

- Lveng Kamsanchet- is a space for guests, and also place for placing music instruments.
- Lveng Keovineah- is a gallery or space where the foods and fruits were displayed,
- Lveng Chhan- is a room for the parents,
- Lveng Bangkanmeas- is a room for unmarried daughter,
- Kitchen- is a place for cooking and food storing,

*** Incantation (Kanseng Yon)**

Kanseng Yon is a piece of red cotton cloth (size about 0.45m x .045) which has different designs and writing. The owner of the new house must asked the Achar (a person who knows the traditional Khmer rules and principles) to design a Kanseng Yon, and put it on the middle of the long beam whenever the house was erected. The Khmer believe that when they fix the Kanseng Yon on the beam of the house, it will protect from looters, fire, visible enemies, sickness and ghosts.

*** Propitious month construction**

The Khmer have one calendar that is governed by the orbit of the moon and another one governed by the orbit of the sun. The calendar is divided into twelve months. Khmer New Year is Cetre (13 of April and some time 14 of April).

Before starting to build a house the owner requests an Achar to prescribe the date of erection of the house. The propitious months of construction are some time a little bit different from one

region to another depending on the principles of Achar. The following are propitious and not propitious months construction:

- Cetre- is not favorable, because will be a bereavement.
- Pisark-is favorable, you will increase the gold and money.
- Chhesd-, is not favorable, you will lose gold , money and there will be a bereavement.
- Assade- is not favorable, you will lose or be deprived of wealth.
- Srap- is favorable, you will be happy and wealthy.
- Peaktrabouth- is not favorable, there will be disease.
- Assochh- is not favorable, there will be conflict or dispute.
- Kadeck- is favorable, wealth will come.
- Mekasse- is favorable, friends and wealth will come.
- Bost- is favorable, gold and money will come.
- Meak- is not favorable, there will be a fire.
- Phalkun- is favorable, good luck will come.

So that in a year only six months are favorable to construct house and other six months are not favorable to building house.

Once the month has been chosen, the date must be set: Sundays, Tuesdays, and Saturdays are not favorable. On Wednesday was believed that "one is fully favored by luck". On Thursday "one is happily resting" and Monday "bring luck" but only if the construction is finished in two days. Friday is neutral "happiness and unhappiness are equal".

*** Ceremonies starting construction**

Krong Pili is a ceremony starting to assemble the house. This belief is come from the one story and many Khmer still strongly believe in it.

After having the date of erecting of a house from Achar, the owner of new house asks carpenters to bring and lay the three central pillars to the center of lot, by raising head of pillars with a piece of wood. Then they started the Krong Pili with the following things: four Chhorms, one tray dessert (four plates), one tray food (four plates), one pair of perfume bottles , one pair of Sla and cigarettes, one pair of candlesticks, one shirt and one pair of trouser. The cosmetic: one mirror, one comb, one bowl of water, and one pot of powder. Making one Pe Mouy Rourt (about 0.50m) for

placing four Pe Chhromos Chruk at four corners, and one small, round Pe putting in the middle. Then the Acharr recites a prayer of wish to the owner. The owner also digs a hole(size proportion to the size of Pe, and 0.20m dept) about 0.50m from the south pillar, for placing the Pe. After that the Acharr covers the Pe and recites another prayer. After this process they start to erect the pillars. After erecting the house, woman are not allowed to enter. The woman can only enter after ceremony to move into the house.

* Assembly techniques

There were two methods of house erection (depending on the size and complexity of the house):

- For the small size and simple house the carpenters first needed to plane wood and cut wood to the right size for all elements and joints. Example: head pillar where joined with rafter and beams needed to make mortise and tenon joint and dovetail halving joint . Then to assemble and to fix pillars and width beams. The pillars could be erected by two ways: a- directly into ground with depth about one meter, and b- raised on a concrete stand. After fixed pillars and width beams they placed them in the right place. For the erection day was started early in the morning. The owner needed extra man forces from the men villagers to help the carpenter group. After Krong Pili ceremony was finished they started to erect the assemble pillars step by step from east to west or from south to north. This erection of pillars must be finished in one day. Then they could assemble all the rest.
- For big or complicated house, the carpenters also needed to plane to cut by right size of elements and joints, but they would erect one pillar by one pillar. In this situation the main thing was the main pillar (sasar kanlorng). They placed the main pillar in the right place before the day of erection. The head of main pillar was covered by clothes tied with sugarcane and small banana tree, and sometimes was shaded by an umbrella. The main pillar must be erected first then the other pillars can follow. They tried as much as possible to erect all pillars in daytime, because they believed that the dragon slept during day time and at night time the dragon comes out and provides the prosperity to the people.

* Ceremony to move to live in a new house (Leung Pheh)

when the construction of the house was finished, the owner must request Achar again to prescribe the date of moving to the house. The things for this ceremony are: one tray of food, one tray of dessert, one bag of unhusked rice, fruit, vegetable, weaving tools. Agriculture tools: one common knife, one sickle, one woven basket, one small round basket. Clothes: one trunk, one shirt, one hat, one umbrella. Jewelry: necklace, bracelet, ring. Cosmetic: powder, perfume, mirror, scissors, razor. Sleeping things: one mat, one mattress, one pillow, one mosquito net, sla and cigarettes, one clay pot of water, one box of sla, rice, horn tusk, one conch, one coconut covered with golden color sheet, one wax melon covered with golden color sheet, one three color female cat, and a weapon. All these materials should be displayed in front of the house. Achar chooses six ladies with new given names and leads them up to the house. These six given names were: 1- Neang Srey for luck carried a clay pot of water, 2- Neang Rath for happiness carried sla and cigarettes, 3- Neang Sour Sdey for prosperity carried clothes, 4- Neang Keo for gold and silver carried jewelry, 5- Neang Kong for long life carried mat and pillow, and 6-Neang Chhey for victory carried horn tusk. Other participants carried the rest materials and made a procession to new owner three times around the house before they climbed into the house. After they were all in the house, they did a process to provide food to spirit of their grand parents and Preah Phoum who was proprietor of water and land. Then Achar took white cotton thread put into cosmetic then tied to the hands of the couple of the house with a blessing. The materials that they brought into the house would be placed in different places and direction: furnace in the east, umbrella in the southeast, rice and smoking tobacco in the south, conch in the southwest, common knife and sharpen stone in the west, tusk and metal in the northwest, unhusked rice in the north, cat and pregnant lady in the northeast, and mat, alcohol, weapon in the middle of the house. At six O'clock they invited 4 or 5 monks to pray to finish the ceremony of moving to the new house.

V- The types of house according to the landscape

* In the river basin

The environment is strong influence to the style of living. Two third of Khmer population are living in the river basin. The houses that could be found in this area are perched on stilts. The stilts of early houses were put deeply into ground about one meter. The wood for stilts was good quality,

strong and resistant to water, humidity and termites. The stilts usually were round with diameter 0.2m to 0.25m or square (0.15m x 0.15m, 0.2m x 0.2) depending on the size of houses. First they started to dig holes and then make compact with stone. Before placing stilts into hole they dried bottom of stilts with smoke to protect them from humidity and termites. The height from ground to floor are different, in general the height is about 2.5m.

Ground under floor is raised about 0.2m higher than surrounded terrace. This area is very useful and is divided into two parts. One part with one bed for eating meals, for sleeping during mid day, and for neighbors chatting. After the farming season they had additional jobs. Some family used to weave cloth from silk or cotton, and weave thatch or palm leave for roof cover, and weave baskets for local use. Families near the Mekong or Bassac river used this space for chopping tobacco. Another part is used to keep ox cart and agriculture tools. Sometimes they kept this part as stable for oxen.

Some families that make palm sugar as their additional work usually built an oven in the front corner of the house.

Kitchen was built behind the house. Sometimes kitchen was perched on stilts about 1m from ground, and some time on raised ground. Stable for oxen or cattle were built in a corner behind the house.

Time changes and life style is also changes. In urban areas much more than in the country side, lots are small and expensive and the city dwellers have quite different jobs: work as office staff, traders, businessmen. Houses were organizing different organized: brick and concrete are common materials for housing while wood house are becoming less practical. Houses perched on stilts are also not found more in the cities. Houses are built on raised ground, and first floor play important role: for business or living.

*** Along the river bank,**

This type of houses is found along riverbanks that are raised as road for people's communication. During flooding time, water raises up about 0.5m below surface of road. Front of houses faces to road and is connected to sidewalk of road by a platform. There is no additional staircase. Of course houses were perched on stilts. Height of houses is from ground level until level

of road. Ground floor is not important and temporary used for storage tools during dry season. People who live in this area are farmers in dry season and fishers in flooding season. They used boat for fishing and communicating in flooding season. In general the kitchen is connected to houses at different level: about 0.2m lower than floor of houses.

*** In mountainous area**

These area are still undeveloped. Houses are small, with gable roof shape and are constructed with local materials like: wood, bamboo used as pillars and beams, strip of bamboo or strip of plank wood used as floor. Woven thatch, leaf of tree, and straw are used for roof cover, and vine used to tie joints. Lightweight materials: wood plank or plated leaves are used to make walls. People there live by farming on their small field, and sometimes hunting or fishing. There were two types of houses:

- directly raised on ground- floor is about 0.5m from ground, and is used as sleeping room and eating place. Ground floor is practically used as working place. Kitchen is built directly on ground. Houses general surround by fruit trees and vegetable garden.
- perched on stilts- height about 2m-2.5m, ground floor not as much important as houses in the basin area. No significant styles or decorations are used.

VI-The Evolution of the shape and form of the houses

There are several styles of Khmer houses. The roof shapes and proportion of house once defined the styles. It was started from simple gable shape to complicated hip shape.

*** Khmer style**

The first style was Khmer style that defined from the proportion of form and gable roof shape. The Khmer had divided size of house such as: 11 units (1 unit = 1 hath = 0.5m), 12 units, 13 units 14 units and 15 units. The proportion must be one measurement wide, two measurements long, and two measurements height. The khmer roof has significant of Penuk (hip roof continues from gable in front and back of house). This style is represented the temple.

* Roung

The second style is Roung (Chinese immigrants called Kantaing). It is simpler than Khmer style. The shape of roof and size of house is almost the same, except the height is only one and half measurement, and there has not Penuk in front or rear of house. This style was defined when the country was not stable and people need to have urgent house to live, did not much considered about detail. Reducing roof height is also reducing materials for construction. This style is popular for simple people.

* Roung Dol

Life is changed, the need persuades evolve the style of house. The style is called Roung Dol, because the mid rafter is pushed from the main rear pillar. The form and proportion is the same, but the roof is changed. The rear side is added and covered by roof slope in the form of awning. This space is used for keeping oxen cart and farming tools.

* Roung Deung

The experience of having one side of awning is more practical so the khmer tried to have both sides: front and rear. They called it as Roung Deung because they use this space to keep a large foot-powered mortar and pestle (Tbal Kdeung). In general many parts of Cambodia Tbal Kdeung is placed in front of house. The size and proportion of this style are not changed.

* Pet

The last style is Pet (or hip form). The roof of Pet is a little simpler than Roung Deung, while the size and proportion rest the same. This style is very common used with any new architectural form and new materials of construction.

* French Colonial houses

Big changes have happened since the French came to Cambodia in 1863. New concepts, new styles and new materials of construction have been presented. The main materials of construction are brick, concrete, wood, glass, steel, clay tile, cement floor tile. There is three major types of building can be seen for city dwellers: Public buildings, residential buildings, and Chinese district buildings. Several provinces like: Battambang, Kompong Cham, Kompong Chhang, Siem Reap, especially Phnom Penh have been witness to this phenomenon.

- Public buildings such as Central Market (concrete work in the style Art Deco style. It is comprises of four wings arranged in a cross plan, supporting a central dome which is forty- five meters high) , Post Office, Railroad Station, National Bank, Courthouse, City Hall, Hospital, Library, Treasury, and Cathedral.
- Residential buildings are large villas originally for French citizens residing in Cambodia. These spacious two-story square houses and were often surrounded by lush gardens with tall trees. The facades were decorated with glass awnings; large windows framed with stucco pattern, and grand balustrade staircases. To drain rain water, mid-height cornices and bandeaus were used. The clay tiles "fish scales" were used to cover the roofs.
- Chinese shops- the Chinese quarter developed as result of the former strong presence of Chinese merchants in the city. The architectural form expresses its dedicated business functions. The aligned houses in brick with clay tile roofs are characterized by a long rectangular space, measuring up to twenty-five meters in depth for a façade measuring only three-four meters. The buildings have two levels. The ground floor opening to the road, houses the shop. It extends to the edge of the road as a pedestrian space covered by awning and lined with the arches, perfect for wandering and conducting business, shaded from the sun and the rain. Background are used as workshop or storerooms. The apartments are located upstairs, behind big windows with wooden shutters, under the coolness of pitched tile roofs.

VII-The impacts of outside influences and modernization on Khmer Architecture

*** Houses after 1970**

- From 1970- 1975 Cambodia was in an unstable situation, no major development in architectural field occurred, only a few types of house were favored: two-story gable roof on the main part and connected to small gable roof in veranda front of house.
- And from 1975-1979 Cambodia was closed during the Khmer Rouge. The country was severely destroyed during this regime. Several types of buildings were built for community: dwelling for new spouse and warehouse for keeping rice. The quality of these buildings were very poor, because no skill, no experience, no qualified people participated.
- From 1979-1993 life started with bare hand. Many people needed to set up their house wherever and with whatever they could afford. The anarchic house spread very fast, especially in the city. Step by step normal life comes back. Some people, who have money, started to build their house with the old type left from the past. The materials were wood with clay roof tiles and zinc sheet in the countryside, and concrete, brick, with clay roof tiles in the city. Because of many reasons: lack of qualified people, lack of experience and lack of materials the houses were of bad quality.

*** Present houses**

From 1993 the new Government was created, many immigrant Khmer from USA, France, Australia, Thailand, returned to Cambodia. Foreign tourists, investors and businessmen from USA, France, Australia, England, Germany, Canada, Japan, China, Thailand, India, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, Vietnam also have been presented. The young qualified Khmer started to get into career. In this time the Khmer culture meets a big impact from foreign culture. Because of the loss of national identification (long civil war) and the lack of experience the buildings were started from something was called "mixture". These buildings can be found mainly in the city: some are mixed with Thai influence, Japanese influence, Chinese influence, Europe influence, and American influence.

亞太傳統藝術論壇學術研討會 學術研討會

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高棉傳統建築的變革

Evolution of Khmer Vernacular Architecture

／沙惹·列可(柬埔寨) Dr. Sareth Lek (Cambodia)

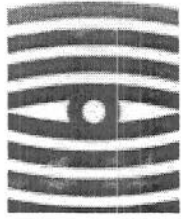
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亞太傳統藝術論壇

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傳統工藝的再生—以漆藝與藍染工藝為例—
Regeneration of Tradition Craft-Taking Lacquer Craft
and Indigo Dying as Examples

翁徐得 (台灣)

Dr. Ueng, Shyu-Der (Taiwan)

行政院文化建設委員會 指導
Directed by the Council for Cultural Affairs,
The Executive Yuan, R.O.C.

國立傳統藝術中心籌備處 主辦
Hosted by the Preparatory Office of
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國立藝術學院 承辦
Handled by the National Institute of the Arts
2000/10/1 Taipei, Taiwan

傳統工藝的再生—以漆藝與藍染工藝為例

翁徐得

1. 緒 言

位處亞熱帶的台灣，氣候高溫多濕，萬物生長茂盛，因此提供了豐富的工藝材料。而台灣在四百年的歷史中又融合了荷蘭人、日本人、原住民及漢人的傳統文化，使得工藝生活文化內涵更為多采多姿，形成了非常寶貴的文化資產。此項文化資產在台灣急劇的經濟發展過程中，由於未受到應有的重視與適當的投資與教育政策的缺失，傳統升學主義的影響，讓人從小與生活工藝文化絕緣，而傳統工藝由於技藝養成不易，工序繁複，手工成本偏高，在快速化的工業社會中喪失了產業的競爭力。近年來傳統工藝產業的流失尤為明顯，傳統工藝技藝隨著轉業、老化、凋零及後繼人才的裹足不前而面臨斷層危機，影響所及將是生活文化的全面西化，生活品質的沈淪，國家民族的文化面貌模糊，最終亦將是整體社會與產業發展的瓶頸。

本文旨在敘述漆器與藍染這兩項在台灣曾經盛極一時的傳統工藝，在工業化的過程中或瀕臨斷絕或已幾近絕跡，如何透過本所及社會的努力而再現生機，兼論及傳統工藝與社會文化、經濟發展的互動關係。

2. 漆器與藍染工藝發展概況

2.1 漆器工藝方面

在中國的歷史上，從浙江河姆渡文化所發現的木胎漆碗已有七千年的歷史，而從各項文物可知，遠在二千多年前的春秋戰國時期，已是漆器工藝的輝煌時期。台灣要到明末清初才開始有大量移民從大陸渡海來台，但初期的移民社會以爭生存為先的需要下，比較精緻的漆器工藝並不易出現，生活上必需的用具則可由大陸運來。到了日據時代，台灣的社會已相當發展，漆器為生活用品，其生產是以市場的需求為主要誘因，此時塑膠製品尚未問世，傳統上仍以天然的木、竹、藤等材料為主要原料，而漆器技術則為其表面保護及裝飾的技藝，台灣居民生活習俗均源自大陸，因此傳統的茶盤、糖果盒、煙盒、珠寶箱、禮籃、謝籃、家具等日常生活用品為主要的漆器產品，其主要的生產技術均承自福州地區移民來的師傅，較為知名的如鹿港、大溪等地之干漆塗裝家具及台北、台中、新竹附近之盒、盤、籃類用具。

日本於 1895 年佔領台灣後，移居的日本人日漸增多，來往也日漸頻繁，漆器為日本人生活中不可或缺的器物，因此開始有人到台灣設立漆器的製作所，其產品可分

兩類，一類是以供應日本人生活文化所需，純為日本的文化風格；另一類則是供為日人來台帶回國的觀光紀念品，它具有濃厚的台灣風味。最值得一提的是日人在台中設立漆器教育的單位，為國小畢業後入學的三年制職業學校，其畢業生目前所知不多，惟漆器前輩陳火慶先生是校長的得意門生兼學校老師，王清霜先生、賴高山先生則是優秀的畢業生。

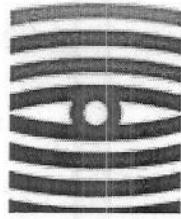
光復後，日本人撤離，台灣埋頭於經濟發展，現代科技與工業急速發展，塑膠、金屬等製品挾其量產、便宜之勢，逐步吞食傳統工藝產業的市場，美成工藝社是福州系統漆器的代表，從民國四十年左右到七十年左右不得不走入歷史，其技藝隨著師傅的轉業與凋零已不復見，而豐原地區從民國六十二年引進的銷日漆器產業到民國八十年代已是只剩幾個人的產業，何況其產品技術層次並不高。傳統漆器技藝在七十年代初面臨了斷層的危機，直到陳火慶先生的出現才有了一道曙光。

2.2 藍染工藝方面

1662年鄭成功從荷蘭人手中收復台灣後，招募移民正式設府置縣統治並開發台灣，在清廷收復台灣後，大陸移民日多，往來貿易日趨頻繁，在1736年黃叔瓚《台海使槎錄》文獻記錄，台灣在當時輸出至大陸的多項貿易品中已包括靛藍染料，顯見自18世紀起栽種藍草加工與製造藍靛染料已成為台灣初期開發的重要產業之一。而早期栽植的兩種藍染植物為山藍與木藍，為方便儲存與運輸，必須先加工，以沈澱法製造藍澱，經過壓榨濾去水分成為較乾燥塊狀則成為藍靛，又稱靛青或靛藍。

山藍為台灣早期開發北部山區的重要經濟作物之一，主要種植地為石碇、坪林、文山、深坑及陽明山等山區，往昔三峽、深坑等地生產的藍靛（泥藍）染料藉由溪河船運，集中至萬華北郊發售外地，其後逐漸於產地開設染房發展染布技術，如三峽原產山藍染料，供應民生需要，後來染房才逐漸增加。三峽老街的染房係日治中期1916年後形成的，其後產業轉向以樟腦、煤礦及茶葉為主，手工藍染房受到日產印花布、推行皇民化及西化風氣影響、服飾形制改變以及合成染料上市，多數染坊快速轉變為布莊，僅留下為數不少的古式牌坊建築。

至於木藍的產業分佈，由於木藍適合平地栽植，耐旱耐濕、生長快速，一年可以三穫。日治時期是重要的特用作物，台北、新竹、台中、彰化、台南、高雄等縣市的部份鄉鎮都曾經盛極一時，據學者整理從1860年至1904年間，在彰化與台中之間，即今日大肚溪兩側的部份鄉鎮平原曾為木藍特產區，由農家生產的番菁木藍澱皆販賣至老鎮鹿港染房或出口，其產值頗為可觀，而台南則為南部番菁木藍染料的主要集散地，舊台南府城永樂街染房林立，為全島之冠。南部另外一處番菁木藍染料的主要產



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泰國的佛教雕像
The Buddhist Sculptures in Thailand

嚴智宏 (台灣)

Dr. Yen, Chih-Hung (Taiwan)

行政院文化建設委員會 指導
Directed by the Council for Cultural Affairs,
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國立傳統藝術中心籌備處 主辦
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泰國的佛教雕像

嚴智宏

緒 論

東南亞是人類文明最繁忙的路口之一。有史以來，許多不同的文化在這裡交會、交流，激盪出各式璀璨的火花，釋放出各色耀眼的光芒，也產生了各種不同的智慧結晶（如宗教藝術）。

在這個區域裡，泰國擁有優越的人文與地理條件，因而有助於其文化的孕育和催生。首先，它接近區域的中心，位居太平洋、印度洋之間；長期以來，它是兩大洋間的交通要衝，也是東南亞多種國際航道的必經之地。由於位置適中、交通方便，因此，昔日早已是中國、印度兩大古文明都能薰染之地；自古至今，更是各種文化、物品的匯聚之所。其次，相對來說，泰國在一千多年信而有徵的歷史中，受到外力侵佔的情況不多；¹ 因此，其文化較少受到強制、半強制的扭曲或變更。而且，泰國數百年來政教結合，君民大都信仰佛教、愛護其藝品。因此，泰國傳統文化（尤其是佛教及佛教藝術）保存尚佳，可說是遠遠超過東南亞大多數國家。職是之故，泰國所保存的佛教及其藝術，已成為東南亞區域文化最重要的寶庫之一。² 本文將從這個寶庫著手，論述泰國佛教及其雕像。

論及泰國佛教，一般多認為，泰國佛教就是小乘佛教（或南傳上座部佛教，Theravada Buddhism）。³ 就現況來說，這是成立的。但我們由史上留存和晚近出土的文物為證（見下文），則可以較明確地說，一、大約自西元 6、7 世紀起，泰國就流行小乘佛教；不過，大乘佛教、密宗也同時存在，尤其是在今日的東北部、南部半島一帶。二、自 13 世紀中葉以降，泰國專注於小乘，幾乎是「罷黜百家」、獨尊該部派。這可能是造成今日的刻板印象 - 泰國只有小乘佛教 - 的原因之一。

由於國內對於東南亞的佛教及其藝術，一直缺乏長期而深入的研究，而泰國又有較豐富的佛教文化遺產，因此，本文先從泰國佛像通論著手，以從事初步分析，並嘗試探討造像之時的歷史情境。在論述之中，我們將可看出，在不同的歷史階段中，由於受到不同情境的影響（如地理、政治、經濟、宗教、藝術等），泰國雕像呈現種種不同風貌。亦即在一千

¹ 雖然 1767 年泰國首都（阿瑜陀耶，Ayutthaya）曾受到緬甸的毀滅性攻擊，但是，比起近代東南亞各國遭遇帝國主義的狀況來說（如緬甸、馬來西亞遭英國殖民，寮國、柬埔寨、越南遭法國殖民，印尼遭荷蘭殖民），泰國受制於外力的時間較短，程度較輕。雖然泰國曾被迫割地、訂定不平等條約，但它仍是近代東南亞唯一沒有被殖民的國家，也是亞、非、拉丁美洲裡少數沒有被殖民的國家之一。

² 例如，泰國的素可泰文化（Sukhothai，下詳）已由聯合國列為世界文化財（World Heritage）之一，明文加以保護。聯合國已於遺址前樹立告示標誌。

³ 以下簡稱小乘。這裡用小乘、大乘來稱呼兩種派別，只為行文方便，並無褒貶之意。

多年的過程中，它一方面吸收鄰近各國的養分，得到其滋潤，因而其雕像上透露出不同文化的痕跡。另一方面，泰國也融合各種風格於一爐，創造出特有的雕像，使它成為泰人文化認同的共同基礎。那種雕像不僅是泰國的特色之一，更為東南亞區域平添不少色彩。

為便於分析這種過程與色彩，本文將泰國佛教雕像之歷史粗分為三大階段（即正式獨立建國前、獨立建國、現階段等），⁴ 之下再細分幾個單元。劃分的主要標準，是雕像的風格；更深入地說，是形成這些雕像風格的歷史情境。⁵

以下針對泰國佛教雕像在各階段與各單元中的特性，及其與歷史情境的可能關連，加以論述。

1. 正式獨立建國前

13 世紀中葉之前，在今天稱為「泰國」的這片土地上，存在著幾個不同的文化（見下文）。在時間上，它們先後出現，但大部分時候是重疊、並存的。在地理上，它們位於不同的地區，也受到鄰近不同文化的影響；因此，其藝術文化各有不同的風貌。例如，墮羅砵底文化（Dvaravati）主要是在泰國中部，受印度等地的影響。高棉-華富里文化（Khmer-Lopburi）在泰國中部、東北部一帶，主要受印度、高棉的影響。室利佛逝文化（Srivijaya）在泰國南部、半島的部份，受印度、南洋等地多種文化的影響（見圖 1）。我們在這三種主要文化中，可以見到大乘、小乘、甚至密宗的造像。下面談論這三個單元。⁶

1.1 墮羅砵底文化（Dvaravati，約 6 - 11 世紀）⁷

⁴ 泰國學界曾用不同的方式來為其文化史斷代，但是很難避免「重疊」的問題。通常，泰國學界以文化終始的時間為標準，將其文化史分為七個單元 - 墮羅砵底（Dvaravati）、高棉-華富里（Khmer-Lopburi）、室利佛逝（Srivijaya）、蘭那（Lanna）、素可泰（Sukhothai）、阿瑜陀耶（Ayutthaya）、拉塔那可辛（Ratanakosin），然後一路敘述下來。這好像把中國的朝代逐一列述一樣，讀來頗為詳盡；但是長篇累牘的結果，不易使人看清歷史大勢的架構與脈絡。本文則將泰國佛教雕像史分為三個階段，這樣較容易明白它的趨勢與轉折之處。

⁵ 這裡必須說明幾點：一、在空間上，泰國的古今領域有所不同，就像中國歷代疆域有所變動一樣。本文所指的「泰國」，是以其今日的疆域為界。這片土地的某些部分，往日曾屬於其他國家（如東北部曾屬於高棉，南部曾屬於室利佛逝國），該地所遺留的藝品可能有他國的影響在。目前這些土地已劃歸泰國，所以，本文也把它們納入討論範圍。二、在時間上，泰國史上曾有幾個政權同時並存，如同中國的三國時代一樣。本文將並列的情況歸類、點出，不同於泰國常用的分法。三、由於泰國歷史本身有這些特性，所以，本文所用的分期方式，只能說是利於看出大勢，不能說照顧到全部。

⁶ 從 1 世紀左右起，有好幾個文化存在於「泰國」這片土地的某一部分上；本階段只談這三個，因為它們是其中較大、較久的。把這三個單元劃歸同一階段，是因為這幾個文化並立，風格各異，看來是分殊的。但它們都受到印度的影響，又都是今天泰國的一部分；而且，它們彼此互有影響，也都存在於泰國正式獨立建國前。所以，分殊之中也有類同。

⁷ 此名可見於玄奘的《大唐西域記》卷 10，錄於《大正藏》冊 51，頁 928 上。義淨的《南海寄歸內法傳》卷 1 有「杜和砵底」，卷 3 有「杜和羅」，見《大正藏》冊 54，頁 205 中及 223 下。杜佑的《通典》卷 188 作「投和」，見《四庫全書》冊 605，頁 598 下。《舊唐書》卷 197 作「墮和羅」，見《四庫全書》冊 271，頁 739 下。《新唐書》卷 222 作「墮和羅」、「獨和羅」、「投和」，前兩者見《四庫全書》冊 276，頁 420 上，後者見頁 420 下。

墮羅砵底文化主要是在泰國中部，地理上與印度算是接近；兩者中間所隔的地區（如緬甸）也深受印度的影響。⁸ 由於在 6、7 世紀時，印度文明（相對來說）已經高度發展，⁹ 因此，墮羅砵底文化便直接、間接受到印度文化的影響，並向它看齊。¹⁰ 墮羅砵底既取經，也取像，並成為以印度為根源的佛教圈之一環。

墮羅砵底的雕像，受到印度庵摩羅砵底王朝（Amaravati，約西元前 3 - 西元 12 世紀）、笈多王朝（Gupta，約 4 - 6 世紀初）、後笈多王朝（到 8 世紀左右）、帕拉王朝（Pala，8 - 12 世紀）等文化的影響。¹¹ 我們在以下實例中，可以明顯地看到印度的影子。首先，在墮羅砵底 7、8 世紀左右的佛像上，有笈多、後笈多藝術的風格。¹² 也就是雕像寬肩，細腰，身體修長；袈裟看來透明，薄如蟬翼，好像沾濕、緊貼在身體一樣（見圖 2）。同時，不少墮羅砵底的佛立像有「三折肢」（*tribhanga*）的模樣，¹³ 清楚地顯示出身體的曲線。佛像的右手有的作施無畏印，有的作與願印或說法印。它的裝飾多為植物紋。

其次，有些墮羅砵底雕像帶有庵摩羅砵底的風格。以一尊在曼谷國立博物館的釋迦牟尼立像為例，它著僧衣，偏袒右肩，僧衣的縐摺明顯、精巧。它的左手緊貼著左胸（右手已失），頭後有頭光。它的頭髮呈螺旋形的顆粒狀。它的容顏圓滿，不帶笑容；身體壯碩，在腰部有明顯的肌肉線條；這是庵摩羅砵底為東南亞所提供的一個模型。¹⁴

另外，某些雕像透露出帕拉文化¹⁵ 的影響。例如，眉毛又彎又細又長，線條明顯，並在鼻根處相連。因此，觀者可以在鼻梁與印堂之間，看到三條相連的線。另外，不少立像的雙手半伸，因此，衣帶自肘、腕部對稱地垂下、連結，形成一個大 U 字型線條。

另一方面，墮羅砵底文化的雕像雖然受到印度的影響，但它與印度的作品不盡相同。換言之，它是「青出於藍」，雖然它未必「勝於藍」。不過，我們能夠確定說，它發展出一些與印度不同的地方。何以不同？其原因可能在於歷史情境。

這個文化之前的歷史到底如何？學界仍不甚清楚，因為極少文字紀錄流傳下來。晚近泰國出土不少上古文物（關於出土文物，請參看 Higham and Thosarat, 1998），但它們尚待進一步研究；而且，這些文物仍難填補史前時代的空白。因此，本文由墮羅砵底文化談起。

墮羅砵底文化存在的時間有多久、疆域有多大？東西雙方的相關學者對此仍然眾說紛紜；不過，他們還是大抵同意，它的時間約為 6 - 11 世紀，疆域主要在今天泰國中部一帶，但可能擴及整個泰國，其最大城市和首府之一是佛統（Nakhon Pathom），烏統（U-Thong）也很重要。

⁸ 關於印度佛教在 13 世紀之前對緬甸的影響，見淨海，1982，頁 140-169。

⁹ Rowland, 1977, pp.215-254; Watson, 1979, pp.39-85.

¹⁰ 由以下幾個方面可知，泰國的確是受到印度影響：一、泰國的主要宗教是佛教，而佛教的發源地在印度。二、泰國的藝術主要是佛教藝術，其源頭也在印度。三、泰國學習佛教、發展佛教藝術，其時間在印度之後至少五百年。

¹¹ 印度在大約 6 世紀後的幾百年間，是多國並存的。

¹² Diskul, 1996, p.593.

¹³ 亦即頭、上半身、下半身等三個部份略作 S 型曲折，而非一直線。這個名詞或譯「三道彎式斜立」。

¹⁴ Asher, 1996, p.476.

¹⁵ 帕拉在印度東北部。墮羅砵底與帕拉兩者，在地理上可說是接近。

學界對墮羅砵底歷史的認識不算很深，但大抵有以下的了解。首先，其君主藉宗教（尤其是佛教）統治社會，所以佛教流行，但佛教以小乘為主。¹⁶ 其次，該國人民多以農商為業；但因位居交通要道，所以商業繁榮，社會富裕，足以支持其宗教和藝文活動；其文化已有一定之成就（它有學校、文字）。¹⁷ 另外，該國頗受孟人（Mon）¹⁸ 影響。當時孟人非常活躍，墮羅砵底則是其活動的主要範圍之一。孟人的文化水準很高，農業發達，精於工藝。¹⁹ 墮羅砵底文化似乎緣於這些因素，而使其佛教雕像別具風味。以下是其中較為特出的。一、它們的肉髻大、呈圓錐形，頭髮卷曲，通常沒有頭光。它們的顏面寬大、稍微扁平，嘴唇稍厚。它們的眼睛長，視線朝下（見圖3）。這些可能是孟人的相貌特徵。

其次，墮羅砵底文化中的佛立像，雙手大都各作說法印。²⁰ 據信，這種作法創始於墮羅砵底，²¹ 也成為該文化的一大特色。在這之前，印度佛像的雙手，通常各作不同手印，或置於胸前合結一個轉法輪印。

第三，墮羅砵底文化也有「蛇王護佛」像（見圖4），²² 而且數量不少。雖然印度有類似的造像，但這個主題在印度並不重要，數量也很少。另外，在構圖上，墮羅砵底文化的，是佛陀在中央趺坐沈思；頭光的部分是蛇王的七個頭，牠們像蛋形或葉形一樣排開。印度的，則是佛陀右脅臥；蛇王的七個頭在佛陀的背後、上方一字排開（見圖5）。²³

再次，墮羅砵底文化中，有許多獨立的石雕法輪像。它們常見於佛統（Naknon Pathom，墮羅砵底文化的重鎮）及附近城鎮。它們的正面、背面大都有植物紋飾；這些紋飾的風格，應該是源自印度的笈多王朝。²⁴ 但是，墮羅砵底文化的法輪像，發展出印度法輪像所沒有的特質。例如，多數法輪像的輪輻以立體方式雕出，而印度的則沒有，因為印度的只有正面（沒背面）、浮雕式的輪輻。又如，墮羅砵底法輪像上刻著巴利文（Pali）經文，而印度的則沒有。另外，雖然法輪像源於印度，但目前差不多只能在墮羅砵底文化中找到這種大型法輪雕像。²⁵

¹⁶ Dhida Saraya, 1999.

¹⁷ 《通典》卷 188 指該國以農商為業，又說該國「覆屋以瓦，並為閣而居，屋壁皆以彩畫之，城內皆王宮室」，「有佛道有學校，文字與中夏不同」。這說明該國之文化已頗有水準。見《四庫全書》冊 605，頁 598 上-599 下。

¹⁸ Mon 或譯「蒙人」；為免與蒙古人混淆、造成困擾，因此本文譯為「孟人」。

¹⁹ 關於孟人的種種，請參閱陳序經的研究，1992，頁 731-853。

²⁰ 兩手的說法印都很清楚。這應該不是阿彌陀佛信仰中「九品往生」的任何一品之手印，也應該與彌陀信仰無關。因為，並無證據顯示《觀無量壽佛經》、彌陀信仰在墮羅砵底文化中出現、流行。

²¹ 墮羅砵底文化史專家 Phasook Indrawooth 教授如此主張。

²² 類似圖像也大量出現於高棉，但它不曾（或極少）在北傳佛教地區（指中日韓等）出現。

²³ 這種像，是再現一個故事（但各版說法稍異）：佛陀在樹下靜坐，但是大雨奄至；佛陀專注於靜坐，以致於沒有察覺到雨水及暴漲的湖水。蛇王（叫做 Muchalinda）見了非常著急，於是把牠的七個頭伸展開來，像傘蓋一樣撐在佛陀頭上，替他擋雨；同時牠也用身體把佛陀墊高，以免他被洪水沖走。有的版本則說，蛇王是在幫佛陀抵擋冷風。

²⁴ Yupho, 1990, p.13.

²⁵ 其直徑多在七十公分以上，有的甚至長達一九五公分（曼谷國立博物館中有一座）。

最後，在墮羅砵底文化的石刻淺浮雕像中，常可看到佛陀站（或坐）在一隻奇特的動物身上。牠是一種混合體，結合了印度教三位主要神明 - 濕婆（Siva）、梵天（Brahma）、毘濕奴（Vishnu） - 的坐騎而成（見圖 6）。²⁶ 這個主題未曾（或極少）在其他地區出現。因此，這也可說是墮羅砵底文化的一個特色。²⁷

以上所舉的例子多為小乘雕像，但是，大乘佛教及其雕像也存在於墮羅砵底，只是較不普遍。²⁸ 例如，叻丕省（Ratchaburi）就出土觀世音菩薩像。²⁹

我們由上述例子中，可以尋繹出早期泰國藝術（墮羅砵底文化）的風格與特質。亦即它向印度學習佛教及其藝術，所以它的佛像有印度的模子在。但由於它本身的因素（如地方信仰與色彩），³⁰ 因而攙入了不同的成分，變化出一些異樣的組合，並形成了它的特色。這些特色，不只是讓它與印度藝術有所不同，有的還獨步藝壇，成為日後泰國雕像的特點之一。

末了必須說明，大約自 9、10 世紀起墮羅砵底文化有下滑的趨勢，因為它的鄰居 - 高棉的吳哥（Angkor）王朝 - 日益強大（尤其 10 世紀後），墮羅砵底的勢力一點一滴為它所取代。

1.2 高棉-華富里文化（Khmer-Lopburi，7 - 14 世紀）³¹

高棉-華富里文化跟墮羅砵底文化同時並存，但後勁較強，延續較久；它主要是在泰國的東北部、中部一帶（見圖 1）。由於它在 13 世紀中葉之前，至少受過高棉兩百年的統治，³² 因此，其政治、經濟頗受高棉影響；它的宗教及其藝術，也與當時高棉的情況大同小異。

³³

在宗教上，他們都奉行佛教或印度教。據信，2 世紀時兩種宗教都已存在於高棉，6 世

²⁶ 牠叫做 Panabat（或拼為 Panaspati/Phanatbodi/Phanatsabodi）。牠有濕婆的坐騎（牛）的耳朵、梵天坐騎（鵝）的翅膀、毘濕奴坐騎（金翅鳥）的嘴。

²⁷ 根據泰國學界的解釋，這個圖像可能意味著它的功德主相信一件事：佛陀的能力超越了印度教的神明。曼谷國立博物館展示圖說也這麼寫道。

²⁸ 淨海，1982，頁 236。

²⁹ Diskul, 1996, p.595.

³⁰ 當地原本就有地方信仰；佛教傳到此地時，吸納了部分的地方信仰；這使得佛教能在當地生根，但也讓當地的佛教及其藝術不同於印度母國的。

³¹ 古籍中稱 Khmer 為吉蔑。例如《舊唐書》卷 197 有言，「南方人謂真臘國為吉蔑國」，見《四庫全書》冊 271，頁 739 上。

³² 後來，賓主易位；13 世紀中，高棉被泰人趕出此地；1431-1432 年高棉吳哥城遭泰國的阿瑜陀耶攻破，因而遷都；1593-1594 年高棉首都又遭泰軍攻陷，自此處於泰國控制之下。

本單元屢屢談及高棉，是因為（地理上）這個地方曾為高棉領土，深受高棉影響，而且（時間上）這個單元主要也存在於泰國正式獨立之前。

³³ The Fine Arts Department, 1993, pp.123-127. 另外，因陀羅跋摩（Indravarman I, 805-887 在位）時大拓疆土，並用心於水利建設，使吳哥經濟大有發展；他也開建神廟。

紀時兩種都流行。³⁴ 5、6 世紀時其佛教僧侶甚至遠赴中國南朝的梁（502-557）譯經；他們所帶、所譯的經典以大乘為主，但也有密宗與小乘的。³⁵ 這可以旁證一件事，即當時高棉佛教以大乘為盛。

佛教在高棉生存數百年，受到當地文化的影響，自然稍微不同於印度母國的；同樣的，在吳哥（Angkor）時代之前（即大約 889 前），高棉的佛教雕像也出現自己的作風了。首先，其雕像大多獨立（free-standing），這不同於印度當時的作法。³⁶ 其次，它的雕像有寫實的傾向；就是注重身體在解剖學上的比例、各部位的特徵等。第三，它的雕像通常肩寬，臀窄，腿略長。臉部方面，眼睛長，眼珠和瞳孔淺淺地刻出。嘴唇頗厚，這是明顯的特徵之一。再次，石雕像的表面大多磨得平整、光滑，細膩地表現出身軀的肌膚（見圖 7）。另外，衣飾方面，細部的妝點較少，多數只用細線在表面淺淺地刻畫出來；這無損於顯示衣飾以下的肌膚，也不同於當時印度的作法。³⁷

此時的佛像（如佛陀、觀音像），除了兼有上述特點外，通常上身裸露，腰部只有薄薄的衣物（呈縐摺狀），並繫結於肚臍與丹田之間。雖然這些雕像也透露出印度笈多、後笈多的風格，但是它們頗有生命力，表現出一種融合外來範本與當地文化的風貌。晚近在泰國帕空差（Phra Kon Chai）出土一批雕像，它們透露出來的風格，就類似這個時期的。³⁸ 它們表面整潔平滑，各部位用輕、薄、簡短有力的細線描畫出，整個看來乾淨、清爽。

吳哥早期（約 889-約 1080），耶輸跋摩（Yasovarman，889-900 在位）時武功極盛。此時的雕像，進一步發展出自我的風格。它們比較挺直、僵硬；面部寬大，肩膀寬闊，軀體、臀部、雙腳都厚重，不易引發美感；髮飾通常作王冠狀（圓柱體），表面刻著珠玉或各式髮型。³⁹ 這種雕像或許是勇武征戰時代的產物？

但 10 世紀末到 11 世紀末，社會較安定，經濟成長，君主也留心於政教；此時遂有特出的雕像問世。首先，蘇利耶跋摩一世（Suryavarman I，1002-1050 在位）時開墾新田，注重水利工程；他又篤信佛教，獨尊大乘。繼任的兩位國王蕭規曹隨，注意農業經濟，並營建巴菩翁（Baphuon）寺。⁴⁰ 這時的風格，以寺為名；它精製、精緻、細微、又巧妙。這種雕

³⁴ 大約 1 世紀時，商人已把婆羅門教（後來演變為印度教）帶到高棉，2 世紀時，佛教也到了；6 世紀起，印度教濕婆派（Saivism）和大乘佛教已流行於城市地區；9 世紀起高棉王都被百姓視為濕婆、大菩薩的化身。（Harvey, 1990, pp.143-144）《通典》卷 188 稱真臘國原本屬於扶南，「多奉佛法，尤信道士；佛及道士立像於館」。這也說明 8 世紀時佛教及印度教已在該國盛行。見《四庫全書》冊 605，頁 597 上、598 下。

³⁵ 《續高僧傳》卷 1 指扶南國之僧伽婆羅、曼陀羅仙至梁朝譯經，其中多為大乘典籍，但也有密宗、小乘的。見《大正藏》冊 50，頁 426 上。《歷代三寶紀》卷 11 也列有僧伽婆羅譯經書目。見《大正藏》冊 49，頁 98 中。（淨海，1982，頁 316-317）

³⁶ 印度當時的雕像，大多有背屏來幫忙支撐其重量。

³⁷ 印度雕像的衣飾較多，而且瓔珞珠玉明顯凸起。

³⁸ Patt, 1996, p.485.

³⁹ Patt, 1996, p.486.

⁴⁰ 淨海，1982，頁 332-333。

像的身軀勻稱，穠纖合度；臉相豐滿，表情溫和，稍有酒窩，下巴中間有一條縫（這是巴菩翁的特色之一）；有時髮髻編成倒置的碗形（見圖 8）。這些特徵容易給人以年輕、討喜的感覺。這時的佛菩薩像也呈現這樣的風格。在主題方面，觀音像、「蛇王護佛」像等，也都繼續產製。

吳哥中期（約 1080-約 1181），高棉繼續擴張國土；宗教上，佛教、印度教並行，但信仰後者的國王略多；在雕像上，不少佛像的裝扮，和該國的印度教神像類似。⁴¹ 當時，佛教、印度教在它們的發源地（印度）上，已經盤根錯節、難解難分了。亦即佛教吸收了很多印度教的儀式、神祇，而印度教也把佛教吸納進去。⁴² 其次，印度教在 9、10 世紀之前的高棉，長期佔著主流地位，並留下深刻影響；後來，由於蘇利耶跋摩一世篤信大乘，因此大乘轉盛，和印度教並駕齊驅。⁴³ 但是繼位的歷任國王有的信佛、有的信印度教。信某宗教便提倡某宗教；交互更迭、交叉提倡的結果，兩種宗教便交織在一起。這種情形，也影響到雕像。而更重要的是，高棉王身為國王，自然戴王冠、著王袍；而信仰印度教的國王，都把自身比為該教神明。於是該教神明的雕像，大都戴王冠、著王服。11、12 世紀時，佛教轉盛，並且與印度教交纏；於是完成於 12 世紀的佛菩薩像，也大多頂戴王冠，穿著帝王服飾，整體看來雍容華貴，如同 12 世紀之前高棉的印度教雕像（見圖 9）。⁴⁴ 這一點也是印度所沒有的。例如，當時經常出現的「蛇王護佛」像中，佛陀就戴著王冠，王冠上呈圓錐形；它們的頸部還刻著瓔珞，雙耳也戴著耳環。

吳哥晚期（約 1181-13 世紀）之初，高棉中興；文治、武功均盛。先是在 1177-1178 年，吳哥遭占族（Chams）入侵、攻陷。1181 年，闍耶跋摩七世（Jayavarman VII，1181-約 1220 在位）趕走了占族，重建高棉的首都。由於他信仰大乘，因此他依照大乘的思想來建造吳哥城（Angkor Thom）。⁴⁵ 這種作法，在雕像上面也可以見到，就是菩薩較為重要；觀音、文殊菩薩像尤然。⁴⁶

但是，當時佛教已有濃厚的密宗色彩，⁴⁷ 因此，高棉-華富里文化的佛像中，密宗人物頗多。例如，泰國北碧省（Kanchanaburi）曾出土許多真人一般大小的觀音像，它們都有四

⁴¹ 蘇利耶跋摩二世（1113-1150 在位）時，營造吳哥窟（Angkor Vat/Wat），建築壯麗精美，可謂高棉古代最傑出的藝術之一。

⁴² 佛教教主釋迦牟尼甚至被當成毘濕奴（印度教的主要神明之一）的化身。（李榮熙 譯，1991，頁 202）這種相互吸納的情況，簡直可用「我泥中有你，你泥中有我」來形容。

⁴³ 張英，1999，頁 74。

⁴⁴ 佛像看來華貴，另有一個可能的原因，就是來自高棉王室的影響；因為許多雕像是由王室、貴族資助製造的。

⁴⁵ Giteau, 1996, p.495.

⁴⁶ 因為這兩位菩薩，是大乘信仰兩大概念（即悲與智）的化身；觀音代表悲，文殊代表智。關於悲智的討論很多，例如印順，1989，頁 1039。

⁴⁷ Takasaki, 1987, 274-275. 此時，佛教在印度可說就是密宗（Tantric Buddhism）；而高棉受印度影響，於是高棉的佛教就有密宗色彩。

臂。⁴⁸ 那是闍耶跋摩七世在位時最流行的雕像之一。

闍耶跋摩七世本信大乘，後來緣於種種因素而宣布改信小乘，⁴⁹ 因此小乘也漸漸流行。相對來說，小乘在形式上較為簡單。這時出現了一種巴戎（Bayon）風格。它的特點之一是崇尚自然主義，表現精神與氣韻。它的某些雕像特別樸實無華，即使是帝王塑像，也褪去所有的王冠、華袞，看來樸素清約，但神情生動（見圖 10）。⁵⁰ 這種改變，似乎與上述的政治、宗教情況有關。⁵¹ 不過，整個來說，在 12 世紀末以前，高棉的佛教仍以大乘較為流行。⁵²

以上所論述的，雖然多為高棉的情況，但是泰國（華富里）的地方特點也逐漸浮現。這由當時很受歡迎的「蛇王護佛」像中，就能看出。縱然系出同源、學自印度，但是華富里的「蛇王護佛」像少有繁複的裝飾，高棉的則很多；華富里的佛像沒有卷髮，高棉的則有；華富里的像，肉髻有三道蓮葉紋飾，高棉則是有很大的肉髻，而無三道蓮葉紋飾；整個看來，華富里的雕像較為修長。⁵³

末了必須說明，闍耶跋摩七世在位之際，是高棉由盛轉衰的分水嶺。13 世紀中他駕崩之後，高棉衰亡，泰人趁機尋求獨立，不斷興兵出擊。高棉不支，原本在泰國東北部的勢力，逐漸退往吳哥；後來甚至遭幾個國家侵略，其雕像也失去不少生氣和活力。14 世紀中，殘存的華富里文化遭新興的阿瑜陀耶給兼併。⁵⁴

1.3 室利佛逝文化（Srivijaya，8 - 13 世紀）⁵⁵

泰國的室利佛逝文化，大約跟墮羅砵底文化、高棉-華富里文化同時並存；幾乎有四個世紀的時間，它們是鼎足而立的。

這個文化深受地理位置的影響。因為它位在海陸交通的十字路口上，也就是在克拉地峽（Isthmus of Kra）、馬來半島、馬六甲海峽一帶。自古以來，這裡就是東南亞交通的咽喉，也是全球最忙碌的水道之一。這裡左通印度、安達曼海，右往婆羅洲、高棉、越南、南中

⁴⁸ Kuoch, 1996, p.599.

⁴⁹ 一、在家庭因素方面，闍耶跋摩七世有個兒子出家，並到錫蘭修習小乘，學成後把它帶回高棉，（張英，1999，頁 62）為父的有受到影響。二、在國內政、經、社會情勢方面，闍耶跋摩七世耗費太多人力、物力於營建寺廟上，以致幾乎民窮財盡。為平息民怨、維持統治地位，他宣布接受較崇尚簡約的小乘。（賀聖達，1996，頁 267-268）三、在國際情勢方面，當時強大的緬甸蒲甘（Pagan/Bagan）王朝信仰小乘，並將它推廣到國力所達之處，大陸東南亞不少地區受其影響。而高棉國勢已經每下愈況，於是轉而跟隨潮流。（張英，1999，頁 61、75）

⁵⁰ Giteau, 1996, p.495.

⁵¹ 但某些雕像則非常繁縟。（淨海，1982，頁 345）

⁵² The Fine Arts Department, 1993, p.125.

⁵³ Kuoch, 1996, p.599.

⁵⁴ 淨海，1982，頁 257。

⁵⁵ 室利佛逝首見於義淨的《南海寄歸內法傳》，見《大正藏》冊 54，頁 205 中。本文所說的「室利佛逝文化」並非指整個室利佛逝國，而是指今天泰國南部領土上曾屬於該文化的部份；它是泰國文化史上的一個單元，而不是泰國的一個朝代。

國海，上達泰國中部，下控蘇門答臘、爪哇。因此，無論是從中東、波斯到中國，或從中國到印度的航線，幾乎都要經過這裡。⁵⁶ 由於它位處八方要衝的位置，因此它很容易碰見外來人物、商品與文化。例如，這時印度的織品和中國的陶瓷、玉器、絲綢等，都運銷到此地，並成爲搶手貨。⁵⁷ 而此地的貨物、藝品上的裝飾，也呈現國際性色彩。⁵⁸

與這些商品、文物一起到達此地的，還包括印度佛教。因爲，一、之前的幾個世紀中，印度（如東北部）的佛教就一直持續興盛。⁵⁹ 二、各國佛教僧侶前往印度遊學的，爲數頗多；7世紀時，玄奘（629-645）、義淨（671-695）也曾赴印留學。往返印度時，愈來愈多的人取道海路，搭乘商船。⁶⁰ 海路經常要看天行船，等待季風。等待時，他們很可能在室利佛逝這個「路口」逗留、研習、交換經驗，觀看彼此攜帶的法器或雕像；離去時，又把那些思想與物品帶往所到之處。三、除了僧侶之外，很多商人、旅客也順道傳布佛教。因爲，當時海上絲路貿易興隆，商船穿梭於印度、馬來半島、南中國海之間；⁶¹ 而室利佛逝位當要衝，必然接觸到各地商旅帶來的各種文化，尤其是當時仍盛的印度佛教文化。同時，印度人與印度船商的活動力甚強，室利佛逝便是它們的主要市場之一。基於以上種種原因，印度佛教（如東北部的帕拉王朝佛教）的最新進展，就源源不斷地傳到此地。

至遲在7、8世紀時，佛教就在室利佛逝落地生根，廣爲流行。這與當地君主關係密切。從這裡發現的銘文中可知，不少君主信佛。例如，一則775年的銘文中，記錄一位君王捐獻一座寺廟之事。⁶² 其次，此地原本就有神靈崇拜，而君王則藉由佛陀的威神（在居民心中，他們似乎是更高階的神靈）來加強其統治地位；例如，君王會定期派遣身旁的教界人士到轄區巡訪，鼓勵各地舉辦尊君、重佛的宗教慶典或儀式。⁶³ 在7-10世紀間，君王及其使者甚至經常出席佛教的國際盛會。⁶⁴

另外，佛教能在當地流行，或許也與佛菩薩能提供依靠、寄託有關。因爲海上貿易頻繁，但航海充滿不確定性，天有不測風雲，船難時有所聞；因此商賈、旅客仰望神明與上蒼，祈求平安。而佛菩薩（尤其是觀音菩薩）據信能夠保佑航行平安、救苦救難，⁶⁵ 於是信仰

⁵⁶ 當時造船技術足以造出容納百人、航程較遠的船隻；而且測候與航海技術改進，船隻能利用季風來航行。（The Fine Arts Department, 1993, p.52）這都有助於招徠更多、更遠的商旅及貨物，也有益於該地的經貿發展。

⁵⁷ SarDesai, 1997, p.45.

⁵⁸ 例如，泰國南部（半島）的海岸一帶，曾出土（或打撈到）中東玻璃、唐朝風格的陶瓷等。（Ho, 1990; Manguin, 1998）另外，Flecker（2000）研究印尼海域之沈船，沈船時間約爲10世紀；船上載著各國貨物。該文參考價值大，因相關文獻少。

⁵⁹ 相關研究甚多，如李榮熙譯，1991。

⁶⁰ 7、8世紀後，海上絲路大通，僧人泛海大多附搭商船，與商賈結伴而行。（王邦維，1988，頁12）義淨的《大唐西域求法高僧傳》中有許多例證。

⁶¹ 關於室利佛逝當時的海上經貿概況，參閱 Hall, 1992, pp.196-202.

⁶² Hall, 1988, p.10.

⁶³ Hall, 1992, p.201.

⁶⁴ Hall, 1988, p.10.

⁶⁵ 相關經典頗多，如《妙法蓮華經》裡的〈觀世音菩薩普門品〉，以及《千手千眼觀世音菩薩廣大圓

者自然眾多。

觀音是大乘佛教（尤其是密宗）的重要人物；觀音信仰在室利佛逝流行，這具體而微地說明了當地的佛教概況。換句話說，就是大乘、密宗在此已然盛行。因為前文已經述及，室利佛逝與帕拉的交往頻仍；⁶⁶ 而當時帕拉的佛教甚盛，其大乘興隆，但密宗色彩濃厚。在大乘佛教裡，觀音菩薩地位重要；在密宗裡，他更是重要非凡。因此，在頗受帕拉影響的室利佛逝文化中，觀音菩薩的地位也就舉足輕重。這種情況，可見於該文化的雕像中，也就是觀音像甚多。晚近在泰國、馬來西亞邊界（霹靂，Perak）即出土多臂觀音像。⁶⁷ 教主釋迦牟尼的像也有，但未必那麼顯眼。

其次，由於密宗造像通常裝飾較多，因此，室利佛逝不少雕像的裝飾也很多。例如，一尊在曼谷國立博物館的觀音菩薩像，雖然只有半身，但整體造型、神情俱佳，細部裝飾繁複、精緻（見圖 11）。另一尊觀音像也是（見圖 12）。

雖然室利佛逝文化深受帕拉的影響，但如上所述，這裡是文化、經貿的要道；許多不同的人與理念在此交會、交互影響、互放光芒。因此，室利佛逝文化並非帕拉的翻版。這裡除了大乘、密宗以外，也曾有小乘；⁶⁸ 而且，除了帕拉的影子以外，其他文化的風格，亦曾在此駐足，並留下痕跡，造成室利佛逝文化特有的國際色彩：

首先，印度帕拉瓦（Pallava，約 3 - 10 世紀，在南印度，小乘流行）文化風格，出現在室利佛逝出土的雕像中。這些像的螺旋形卷髮顆粒稍大，肉髻之上有球根狀、類似蓮苞的裝飾。其臉相通常飽滿，眉毛彎曲，眼睛半開半闔。身體豐腴，線條柔美，表情大多溫和，姿態怡然。

滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼經》，分別見《大正藏》冊 9，第 262 號，冊 20，第 1060 號。

⁶⁶ 還有幾個例子可以證明，室利佛逝與印度佛教重鎮（帕拉王朝的那爛陀，Nalanda）關係密切：一、9 世紀中一個統治者，捐款到那爛陀興建寺廟。（Taylor, 1992, p.174）二、在室利佛逝文化出土的一些小銅像、獻納版等（獻納版大抵是由信徒捐資、奉獻出來的小版塊，上面通常刻劃著幾個到數十百個佛像，或是一佛二菩薩等圖像），與那爛陀遺址出土的，十分神似。（O'C⁶⁶ 相關研究甚多，如李榮熙 譯，1991。

⁶⁶ 7、8 世紀後，海上絲路大通，僧人泛海大多附搭商船，與商賈結伴而行。（王邦維，1988，頁 12）義淨的《大唐西域求法高僧傳》中有許多例證。

⁶⁶ 關於室利佛逝當時的海上經貿概況，參閱 Hall, 1992, pp.196-202.

⁶⁶ Hall, 1988, p.10.

⁶⁶ Hall, 1992, p.201.

⁶⁶ Hall, 1988, p.10.

⁶⁶ 相關經典頗多，如《妙法蓮華經》裡的〈觀世音菩薩普門品〉，以及《千手千眼觀世音菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼經》，分別見《大正藏》冊 9，第 262 號，冊 20，第 1060 號。

⁶⁶ 還有幾個例子可以證明，室利佛逝與印度佛教重鎮（帕拉王朝的那爛陀，Nalanda）關係密切：一、9 世紀中一個統治者，捐款到那爛陀興建寺廟。（Taylor, 1992, p.174）二、在室利佛逝文化出土的一些小銅像、獻納版等（獻納版大抵是由信徒捐資、奉獻出來的小版塊，上面通常刻劃著幾個到數十百個佛像，或是一佛二菩薩等圖像），與那爛陀遺址出土的，十分神似。（O'Connor, 1996, p.597）

⁶⁷ Villiers, 1996, p.165.

⁶⁸ 義淨指他於 7 世紀下半葉到南海時，該區域「咸遵佛法，多是小乘」。見《南海寄歸內法傳》卷 1，錄於《大正藏》冊 54，頁 205 中。

其次，印度綽拉（Chola，約9 - 13世紀，南印度）文化，也對室利佛逝文化頗有影響。它與室利佛逝文化之間經常來往，並為馬六甲海峽兩岸留下了豐富的歷史遺跡。⁶⁹ 它的雕像常常多手多臂；男的頗為雄壯結實，時或修長。雕像的肩很寬，腰稍細；頭上裝飾多。五官方面，則有蛋形臉，臉上有尖而長的鼻子、稍高的眼睛、（狀如波浪）彎曲而有力的眉毛；表情嚴肅（見圖13）。

我們經由以上的論述可知，大約7、8世紀時，室利佛逝文化的佛教兼具小乘、大乘、密宗；後兩者尤其盛行。它的造像也有類似情況。我們藉由這些證據能夠明白，泰國佛教並非僅止於小乘；雖然，自13世紀到現在是以小乘為主。其次，這裡久為東南亞各國交通中心，商旅雲集，物資輻輳；同時，經貿與文化交流的網路，把鄰近各邦⁷⁰ 連繫起來。因此，室利佛逝能與東南亞的其他文化相互觀摩、學習、激盪，共同形塑出五花八門的異國風情。⁷¹ 影響所及，這裡的佛像也兼具各種不同的風格。易言之，雖然教出同源（印度），但是由於歷史情境（如地理環境、人為因素）所發揮作用不小，因此，室利佛逝的佛教及其藝術，就變現出五光十色的風貌。

末尾附帶說明，室利佛逝在11世紀幾番遭到綽拉擊敗，致其海上霸權逐漸瓦解，樹倒猢猻散。13世紀中，泰南的室利佛逝文化向素可泰奉表稱臣。⁷²

2. 正式獨立建國階段

13世紀中，大陸東南亞（continental Southeast Asia）出現了一個新興國度，它的首都與國家名稱，都叫做素可泰（Sukhothai）。它的出現，標誌著一個舊時代的結束與一個新世代的開始。因為，它讓東南亞的政治情勢重新調整，也讓政治地圖重新劃過，更讓泰國文化史中多了可稱、可頌、可傳之久遠、可引以為榮的一頁。這一頁，是泰人公認的正式建國的起點，也是泰國正朔的開端。它有一種開國新氣象，充滿著生命、活力。但這並不是一個大一統的時期。因為，泰北同時存在著一個政權（蘭那，Lanna）。14世紀中，素可泰南方又興起另一股政治勢力（阿瑜陀耶，Ayutthaya）；它愈來愈強，強到吞下了素可泰。⁷³

在這個由獨立建國到富強壯大的階段中，泰國繼續吸收外來文化以滋養自我，並建立了本國文化的主體性。從這個階段起，小乘在泰國站穩了主流的地位。

⁶⁹ O'Connor, 1996, p.598.

⁷⁰ 如印度、錫蘭、蘇門答臘、爪哇、高棉等。Siriweera (2000) 探討14世紀中國與錫蘭交往的紀錄，指最早的文獻在李肇的《(唐)國史補》。兩國交往，必然行經室利佛逝。

⁷¹ O'Connor, 1996, p.598.

⁷² 陳禮頌 譯，1988，頁51。

⁷³ 基本上，14-15世紀時在今天稱為「泰國」的這個範圍內，共有三大股勢力並存；北為蘭那，中為逐漸衰微的素可泰，中南為日漸強大的阿瑜陀耶。其次，把蘭那放在「正式獨立建國階段」並非毫無疑義，因為它是素可泰之外的一個單元；但是放在「正式獨立建國前」可能更不好，因為蘭那存在的時間（11/13-18世紀）大部份是在泰國正式建國後。所以，本文權且將它歸在此一階段。

2.1 素可泰文化 (Sukhothai, 13 - 15 世紀)⁷⁴

素可泰原本是高棉統治下的一個地方，位在今日泰國的中部；13 世紀中，它趁高棉產生內憂、無暇旁顧之際，⁷⁵ 起而抗拒高棉。它不但把高棉的勢力逐出泰國中部、東北部一帶，還正式獨立建國。⁷⁶

如同這個新興國家在政治上自立門戶一樣，它在文化上也積極建立其主體性，努力擺脫高棉的影響。在這些開創性的過程中，王室 - 尤其是藍堪亨大帝 (Ramkamhaeng, 約 1279-1298 在位) - 扮演了關鍵性的角色。據說，這位傳奇人物驍勇善戰，十九歲就乘象出征，率領泰人馳騁沙場，東征西討，開疆拓土，武功顯赫。⁷⁷ 在文治上，他同樣大有建樹。例如，他創造了特殊的文字 - 泰文。⁷⁸ 自此，泰國有了獨樹一幟的文化；這段時期，也是泰國文化史上公認的黃金時代。

他所立下的規模與典章制度，為泰國奠下了堅實的基礎；其影響之深遠，今日猶見。例如，今天泰國之所以流行小乘，就跟他有密切關係。他驅走了高棉人，也不願傳承他們的宗教 (大乘、密宗)，於是他揚棄這種信仰，改奉小乘。他認為這個部派，才真正保存了佛陀遺教。因此，他向當時小乘的中心 - 錫蘭 - 取經、請像、禮聘法師，確立該部派在素可太的地位。⁷⁹ 這裡必須說明，除了南印度殘存的佛教之外，印度佛教在 12 世紀末幾乎是已經滅亡了。⁸⁰ 但錫蘭大約自西元前 3 世紀起，就接觸到印度佛教，之後持續流行。⁸¹ 其間雖與印度教勢力互有消長，但基本上小乘之香火在此源遠流長；尤其 12 世紀末，小乘在此振興，錫蘭儼然成為該部派的中心。⁸² 藍堪亨大帝就是向錫蘭請法。這種以國王的地位來護持佛教的作法，一直延續下來。例如，李泰王 (Lithai, 約 1347-1374 在位) 也自錫蘭迎請僧侶，以協助其宗教改革，並發展佛教藝術 (如鑄造大型佛像)。⁸³ 意猶未盡，政府乾脆直接派人到錫蘭研習佛教。

素可泰認真學習該國佛教及其藝術，還可由以下事例得知。一、在主題人物上，由於素

⁷⁴ 「素可泰」意指幸福的、好的曙光。素可泰是暹羅史上的北朝。《元史》卷 210 稱它為「暹」；見《四庫全書》冊 295，頁 735 上。

⁷⁵ 當時盛名遠播的高棉王闍耶跋摩七世壽終 (見上文 1.2)，爭逐王位者交相征戰，國內擾攘不安；經濟因動亂而雪上加霜，益形困頓。西邊，緬甸的蒲甘王朝傾覆，國內紛爭不息。南邊的室利佛逝也趨於衰微。時機大有利於素可泰。

⁷⁶ SarDesai, 1997, p.31.

⁷⁷ 陳禮頌 譯，1988，頁 50-51。這裡必須說明，關於這位傳奇人物的故事中，有多少是屬於神話傳說的成分，至今仍不易論斷。

⁷⁸ 他以孟人和高棉人的文字為底，創造了泰文。(陳禮頌 譯，1988，頁 58) 雖然以孟-高棉文為底，但泰文仍不同於它們。其次，他的彪炳功業及身而止，影響較久的反而是他在文學、宗教、及宗教藝術上的成就。(Taylor, 1992, p.169)

⁷⁹ 謝光，1997，頁 159；張英，1999，頁 71-72。

⁸⁰ 聖巖，1997，頁 267。

⁸¹ Harvey, pp.141-143.

⁸² De Silva, 1996, p.441. 此後數國派遣比丘前往留學。(淨海，1982，頁 5、50-51)

⁸³ 陳禮頌 譯，1988，頁 60；淨海，1982，頁 250-251。

可泰奉行小乘，因此其雕像幾乎全為釋迦牟尼像。這不同於高棉治下的地方之充滿大乘、密宗像。二、在風格上，當時錫蘭的佛像簡約樸實；素可泰向錫蘭學藝，自然學到儉樸的風格。這也不同於高棉治下的地方之佛像。三、在特定母題 (motif) 上，根據錫蘭的《大史》(Mahavamsa)、《小史》(Culavamsa) 記載，佛陀曾到該島作客，並在山上留下一個足印。⁸⁴ 此後，島民爭相複製佛足印。這種習俗，隨著素可泰的留錫學僧傳入泰國，使得泰人也熱心於複製佛足印。但是，如何製作呢？他們把目光投向錫蘭，有樣學樣，學習該國的藝術風格。李泰王甚至下令在本國山上設置一個仿自錫蘭的佛足印，⁸⁵ 以便泰人有共同的標準可循。⁸⁶

素可泰的君王不僅向外（佛教聖地）尋求經典、藝術模範，對內也致力於傳揚教義、建寺造像，本身更用心研究，或傳布心得。例如，樂泰王 (Lerthai, 14 世紀初在位) 用功讀經，以致有「鑽研經藏的國王」(Phrathamracha) 之稱。⁸⁷ 李泰王不但廣興寺院，還著書闡明教義、教導百姓；他甚至捨身出家，受戒為僧；此後每位國王（與大多數男子）都皈依佛教，並出家一段時間。⁸⁸

風行草偃，在王室的大力推廣下，佛教及佛教藝術隨之大盛；同時，泰人在模仿錫蘭之餘，也漸漸在佛像中融入自己的色彩，開創出泰國佛像的特色。這時的雕像具有以下特徵：頭上有佛光（錫蘭的，如五指平伸，素可泰的則略如火焰狀），肉髻隆起，螺旋卷髮細小。臉孔與五官方面，（錫蘭的臉形較圓）素可泰的，為蛋形的泰人臉孔；額上有美人尖，眉毛彎曲，鼻子略鉤，嘴略小，表情慈祥平和，尤其是有溫和的微笑。身材方面，身體修長，肩膀寬，腰部細。衣飾方面，（錫蘭的袈裟縐摺細而多）素可泰的平滑如膚，不起縐摺。左肩上的衣帶垂到臍部，（錫蘭的，尾端平整）素可泰的在尾端作鋸齒狀。整體線條流暢優美。佛立像的右手（或左手）通常作施無畏印，另一隻手靠近身體。

接著，素可泰時期的雕像更發展出一些特質，使它享譽佛教藝術界，歷久不衰。最著名的就是立體佛行像 (walking Buddha)，亦即表現行走姿勢的佛陀雕像（見圖 15）。這是泰國藝術所獨有的；因為，佛教流行的國家均有獨立的佛立像、坐像、臥像而獨缺佛行像，但是只有泰國做出這種雕像。⁸⁹ 它的一個特點是如果雕像的右手在前，則左腳會在後，好像要使整個雕像的重心得平衡一樣。同理，若左手在前，則右腳在後。⁹⁰ 這不僅是素可泰雕像的特色，也成為泰國佛像數百年來的特色之一。

⁸⁴ 張英，1999，頁 30。

⁸⁵ The Fine Arts Department, 1993, p.183.

⁸⁶ 藍堪亨在位時，就已仿製錫蘭的佛塔；素可泰遺址中即可見到（圖 14）。

⁸⁷ The Fine Arts Department, 1993, p.181.

⁸⁸ 賀聖達，1996，頁 242；張英，1999，頁 72、86。

⁸⁹ 泰國是第一個用獨立 (free-standing) 雕像來表現佛陀行、住、坐、臥等四相的國家。

⁹⁰ 這種行走姿勢，不同於常人行走的動作（常人走路時右手在前，則左腳在前）。但這就是素可泰佛行像的特色。

這種佛行像代表什麼意義？相關說法有以下幾種：一、可能是用來表現佛陀以腳來印記土地。這種雕像的蓮台上有三個腳印，代表釋迦牟尼以前的三位佛陀，還有一個腳印則是他自己的。二、由於佛陀有行、住、坐、臥四相，後三者處處可見，但佛行像難得一見；為使四相俱全，因此製作佛行像。三、表現佛陀到三十三天為母說法後，從天而降，回到人間的情景。四、表示佛陀歡喜地走向信徒。上述幾種說法都有理，而且泰國學界都能接受；他們認為，這幾種說法之間並未互斥。⁹¹

但是，支持第一說的例子不多。⁹² 第二說看來簡單；但是對於一個馳名遠近、享譽教界的雕像造型而言，這樣簡單的理論基礎，似乎薄弱了些。第三說較為普遍；而且，佛陀從三十三天下降的情景，也經常可見於泰國繪畫及浮雕上。其背後的理念，似乎是佛陀不忘昇天為母說法，之後不忘再回到人間為眾生說法。第四說也有理。值得一提的是，這種造像略與大乘佛教（尤其是淨土宗阿彌陀信仰）的「來迎」圖相似（見圖 16）；但是，小乘佛教並不講究「彌陀臨終接引」的觀念。所以，這種圖像上的雷同，或許是一種巧合，而非阿彌陀佛來迎的再現。

我們由以上論述可知，自從素可泰獨立以來，泰國文化以小乘為根本，逐步建立了主體性，並且開花結果，代代綿延（見下文）。但是，泰可素未曾一統江山；與它同時存在的，在北方就有蘭那文化。

2.2 蘭那文化 (Lanna, 11/13 - 18 世紀)⁹³

蘭那文化位在泰國北端，地理上距離印度東北頗近；兩者中間所隔的緬甸，在 11 世紀前就曾聽聞佛法。⁹⁴ 而且，緬甸強大的蒲甘 (Pagan/Bagan) 王朝自 11 世紀起，就熱心推廣小乘；因此，蘭那早在 13 世紀之前，即接觸到佛教思想。另外，其歷任國王都推行佛教，不遺餘力。例如，芒萊王 (Mangrai, 約 1261-1311 在位) 以佛教戒律為本，寫了有關法規的書，用以教導百姓日常應有的行為規範。⁹⁵ 他還在主要城市建寺造塔。⁹⁶ 三界王 (Tilokarat/Tilokaracha, 約 1441-1487 在位) 不僅廣鑄佛像，甚至結集巴利文三藏，讓研究佛法的風氣大盛。⁹⁷

⁹¹ 面訪藝術大學 Phasook Indrawooth 教授所得。

⁹² 曼谷國立博物館中有一尊這樣的雕像，它出自蘭那文化。

⁹³ 大約 10 世紀時，泰北已有泰人建立的小國，如帕堯 (Phayao)、訶里奔察雅 (Haripunjaya)、清盛 (Chiang Saen)。其中以清盛較特出；它一度被高棉佔領，11 世紀時復興，13 世紀時文化昌盛，改稱蘭那（「蘭那」本義是肥沃的土地、百萬的稻田）。因此，本文把它開始的年代寫成 11/13 世紀。

它是古泰族的「三城國」之一，偏處北端，常受制於外力，不甚受到世人重視。它長期存在，曾受柬埔寨、緬甸影響，曾抵抗阿瑜陀耶的侵略，但 16、17 世紀先後淪為緬甸、阿瑜陀耶屬國。

⁹⁴ 在 11 世紀之前，緬甸早已有佛教傳入。（淨海，1978，頁 140-145）據信，自 3 世紀起，大、小乘都存在於緬甸；但自從阿奴律陀大帝 (Anawrata/Anawrahta/Anurutha, 1040-1077 在位) 傾心於小乘後，該部派成為主流。（Harvey, 1990, p.143）

⁹⁵ Taylor, 1992, p.169.

⁹⁶ 淨海，1982，頁 254-255。

⁹⁷ 淨海，1982，頁 255-256。

在藝術方面，由於蘭那文化在不同時期受到不同文化的影響，所以，它的佛像在不同時期也呈現不同風格。蘭那前期（11/13-14 世紀），部份的佛像近於印度（帕拉王朝）的風格。因為這種風格，不難穿過緬甸，傳到泰北地區。

這時，未鍍金的銅像是最流行的材質；佛陀端坐並做觸地印，則是最受歡迎的樣式。⁹⁸ 這種雕像胸膛寬大，腰部較細；頭上的螺旋形卷髮稍大，肉髻也是，頂上佛光呈蓮苞狀。臉部圓而豐腴，表情莊重。眼睛半開半閉，上眼瞼較直，眉毛彎曲如弓，鼻子筆直，嘴巴小，下巴明顯。身材略豐厚。衣飾方面，右肩偏袒，左肩上有短短的一截衣角（止於胸部），通常沒有腰帶。佛坐像的右手放在右膝上，作觸地印；雙腳結跏趺坐，腳心向上（見圖 17）。蓮座較有特色的地方，是雙層的蓮瓣中間，清楚地刻畫出雄蕊。⁹⁹

蘭那後期（14-18 世紀）受素可泰、錫蘭的影響很大。蘭那與它南方的素可泰早在藍堪亨大帝時，就義結金蘭，和平共處，之後雙方也互不侵犯。¹⁰⁰ 接著，當素可泰致力於文化建設時，蘭那也接受其思想與藝術。例如，蘭那的庫納王（Ku Na, 1355-1385 在位）請素可泰派遣僧侶到清邁（蘭那首府）傳教。¹⁰¹ 而由於素可泰向錫蘭習得不少，¹⁰² 因此，蘭那也間接學到錫蘭的文化。

但是，二手傳播畢竟不如直探本原來得真實、可靠，因此，蘭那就派人到錫蘭，親炙他們所仰慕的文化。例如，三界王派遣僧侶到錫蘭留學，並邀請該國的僧侶到蘭那傳教。¹⁰³ 當錫蘭的影響越來越大時，蘭那文化的雕像也隨之產生變化。這時佛像的臉變得較長，呈蛋型，肉髻與頂上佛光（和素可泰的一樣）作火焰形，螺旋卷髮則變小些。左肩上的衣帶延伸至腰臍上面。身軀一樣壯碩，但較為修長。

後來，蘭那在 16、17 世紀先後遭緬甸、阿瑜陀耶攻佔。最後在 18 世紀末併入泰國版圖。

2.3 阿瑜陀耶文化（Ayutthaya, 14 - 18 世紀）¹⁰⁴

出現的時間稍晚於蘭那、素可泰文化，但多數時間與蘭那文化並存的，是泰國中南部的阿瑜陀耶。在 14 世紀中，它興起於素可泰以南的烏統（U-Thong）。1351 年，其君長拉瑪鐵菩提（Ramathibodi, 1350-1369 在位）遷都進入阿瑜陀耶島，¹⁰⁵ 開啓泰國歷史的新頁。當時，

⁹⁸ Shearer, 1996, p.603.

⁹⁹ Shearer, 1996, pp.603-604.

¹⁰⁰ 陳禮頌 譯，1988，頁 56-57。

¹⁰¹ 淨海，1982，頁 255。

¹⁰² 見 2.1 素可泰文化單元。

¹⁰³ The Fine Arts Department, 1993, p.151.

¹⁰⁴ 「阿瑜陀耶」意為不可破之城；它原本是首都的名稱，其君王拉瑪鐵菩提（Ramathibodi）在此定都之後，也以它作為政權的名稱。它是暹羅史上的南朝。《明史》卷 324 稱它為「羅斛」；見《四庫全書》冊 302，頁 703 上、下。

¹⁰⁵ 阿瑜陀耶是一個島狀城市。其周圍由三條主要河流環繞著：華富里河（Lopburi），帕薩克河（Pasak），昭披耶河（Chao Phraya）。由於河流與渠道相連，島上滿佈水道，因而防止了水患，也便利了運輸和商賈往來。這大有利於首都的繁榮，也為它帶來「東方威尼斯」（Venice of the East）的稱呼。

他把三股力量凝聚起來。一是華富里的孟-高棉人的行政技術；二是素攀武里（Suphanburi）附近泰族的人力與軍事技能；三是阿瑜陀耶當地華人社群的財富、商賈手腕等。¹⁰⁶ 這三股力量成爲阿瑜陀耶王朝的主要棟梁，也是阿瑜陀耶在「人和」方面的勝券。

此外，阿瑜陀耶文化也享有優渥的「地利」。它坐擁昭披耶河流域的中心腹地，那裡平原遼闊，河道縱橫，土地肥沃，利於耕種收穫。¹⁰⁷ 由於地肥、物阜、礦產豐，商賈發達，因此有「亞洲的搖籃」（cradle of Asia）之稱。¹⁰⁸ 15世紀中，當素可泰日趨衰微之際，阿瑜陀耶在天時、地利、人和俱備的情況下，入承大統，取而代之，建立泰國的新興王朝，而且愈益壯大，蒸蒸日上。

在極盛之時，阿瑜陀耶享有魚米之利、運漕之便、商賈之盛，人口稠密，可謂亞洲最富強的國家之一。¹⁰⁹ 它原本就傳承了素可泰豐富的文化遺產，此時在雄厚的物質基礎上，更有餘力發展宗教與藝文。例如，宮廷、寺院與民間的文學都得到發展，並產生著名的文人和影響深遠的詩篇。¹¹⁰ 那萊王（Narai, 1656-1688 在位）深諳文史，博覽三藏，著作頗多；¹¹¹ 當政時期文風頗盛，甚至有「文學的黃金時期」之美稱。¹¹²

阿瑜陀耶文化的昌盛，也可見於其佛教和佛教藝術。之前，它的歷代君王都倡導佛教、興建寺塔、廣置雕像。例如，拉瑪鐵菩提曾遣使到錫蘭，迎請經師至泰弘法。¹¹³ 接著，波隆采洛納王（Boromtrailoknath, 1448-1488 在位）也敬信佛教，曾將王宮奉獻給僧伽，改建爲寺。¹¹⁴ 後來，拉瑪鐵菩提二世（1491-1529 在位）更是大興土木，造塔建寺，還下令製作四十八呎高的大佛像。¹¹⁵ 上行下效，長期如此，於是民間也普遍信仰小乘，幾乎人人都有佛像。

在造像時，阿瑜陀耶受到泰國內外幾個地區的影響，但與那些文化都不盡相同，呈現出一種「混合而後融合」的特質。首先，阿瑜陀耶的雕像具有烏統風格。這種風格混合了孟-墮羅砵底、高棉等要素，因爲烏統曾爲墮羅砵底的重要城市之一，而華富里後來遭阿瑜陀耶兼併。這種雕像有以下特徵：額頭突出，杏眼，眼皮直而稍微下垂，嘴角稍微上揚，頭上螺旋形卷髮較小，並且有一個平平的肉髻。

¹⁰⁶ Taylor, 1992, p.170.

¹⁰⁷ 相對來說，素可泰較不富有，其土地較貧瘠。《明史》卷 324 有言，「暹土瘠，不宜稼；羅斛地平衍，種多穫，暹仰給焉」。見《四庫全書》冊 302，頁 703 上。

¹⁰⁸ The Fine Arts Department, 1993, p.230.

¹⁰⁹ 16 世紀末，其疆域頗大，一度包括今天的寮國、高棉一帶。

¹¹⁰ 賀聖達，1996，頁 253。

¹¹¹ 淨海，1982，頁 269。

¹¹² The Fine Arts Department, 1993, p.222.

¹¹³ 賀聖達，1996，頁 242。

¹¹⁴ 張英，1999，頁 73。這位國王的名字或作 Boroma Trailokanatha / Boromatrailokanat。

¹¹⁵ 淨海，1982，頁 261；陳禮頌 譯，1988，頁 108。今日猶存、馳名遠近的「三佛塔」（Wat Phra Si Sanphet）中的兩座，就是他建造的。

其次，是素可泰文化的影響。14 世紀下半葉當素可泰已走下坡路時，阿瑜陀耶尚未取代前者的地位，仍然師法素可泰的風格。例如，它也有素可泰雕像的蛋形臉、修長的身軀，和左肩上鋸齒狀的衣帶尾端。¹¹⁶ 這種向素可泰學習的方式，也可以在許多百姓都會製作（或委製）的獻納版上看到。一種常見的獻納版，是由五百個相同的小小佛坐像，來再現過去的佛陀，然後中間有一尊較大的素可泰式佛行像。後來，因為波隆采洛納王出身於彭世洛（Phitsanulok，它緊鄰素可泰），¹¹⁷ 因而為雕像注入更多素可泰的血液。¹¹⁸

但是，拿阿瑜陀耶與素可泰的雕像比對，仍可見到相異之處。一、某些阿瑜陀耶雕像仍保有烏統的特徵；例如，在它們的頭髮、額頭相接之處（自左耳到右耳）有一條帶狀細紋，左肩上的衣帶尾端為一直線（見圖 18）。二、阿瑜陀耶雕像臉上較少笑容，表情也較嚴肅，尤其是在後期（16、17 世紀）。當時，國王和百姓之間的關係也日漸疏遠。¹¹⁹ 三、阿瑜陀耶雕像的蓮台通常是金字塔形，裝飾得很複雜（如細緻的花紋、或再現某些佛傳故事中的情景等）。

第三，則是高棉的藝術風格。早期（約 14 世紀中葉）某些阿瑜陀耶雕像曾受高棉的影響；這可從它們的方形臉、肅穆的表情看出來。17 世紀中，高棉風格在阿瑜陀耶復興，因為巴薩通王（Prasatthong，1629-1656 在位）熱愛高棉文化，並引進其藝術，如高棉的建築與雕像。¹²⁰ 這時，雕像的眼睛、嘴巴都有雙線條，下巴中間也有一條縫；這是高棉的特色之一。但是，在這些雕像中，仍可看出阿瑜陀耶匠人所加注的心血，如它們蛋形的臉、彎彎的眉毛等。到了 18 世紀，匠人越來越注重細部的複雜裝飾，以致較不注意雕像的整體美感。其結果是雕像臉部沒有多少特別之處，但整個外表（包括頭冠、頸部、肩膀、胸部、手肘、蓮座等）嵌飾著琳瑯滿目的黃金、珠寶（見圖 19）。

值得一提的是，18 世紀中葉，由於錫蘭佛教衰微，阿瑜陀耶僧團應邀前往傳戒，復興其體系。¹²¹ 因為，16、17 世紀時，葡萄牙、荷蘭等海權國家相繼進入錫蘭，先是貿易，然後是傳揚其本國宗教，並長期阻滯佛教；這導致錫蘭佛教在 18 世紀之初，就幾乎奄奄一息了。18 世紀中，泰僧兩度赴錫說法、傳戒、建立制度，再續錫蘭佛教命脈。¹²²

我們由以上論述可以知道，經過歷代君王的提倡，以小乘為本的泰國文化至此已然成立，並且深入民間，其民族文化與宗教業已結合，其佛教甚至能外傳。不過，經濟寬裕、社會富庶，也使許多佛像的頭上、身上、底座負荷了前所未有的大量珠玉。

¹¹⁶ 另外，許多烏統雕像採坐姿，坐在凹面的蓮台上，右手作觸地印。獨立的佛行像不多。

¹¹⁷ 他即位前曾任彭世洛的太守。（陳禮頌譯，1998，頁 92-94）

¹¹⁸ The Fine Arts Department, 1993, p.224.

¹¹⁹ 素可泰時期君民之間關係較親近；百姓若覺得有冤屈，可直接到宮廷敲鐘申訴，由君主來主持審判。（陳禮頌譯，1998，頁 58）當時佛像的容顏比較和藹可親（見上文 2.1）。

¹²⁰ The Fine Arts Department, 1993, p.224.

¹²¹ 淨海，1982，頁 269。

¹²² 淨海，1982，頁 58-80。

3. 拉塔那可辛文化 (Ratanakosin, 1782 - 至今)

「福兮，禍之所伏。」¹²³ 當阿瑜陀耶文化的雕像金碧輝煌、珠光寶氣的時候，緬甸不斷揮軍入侵。¹²⁴ 1767 年，緬甸大軍摧毀了阿瑜陀耶的首邑，擄走泰王、宗親、大臣，京中文物、府庫為之一空。¹²⁵ 未久，有志之士擊退緬軍，建立新的政府（塔克辛王朝，Taksin）。¹²⁶ 但不旋踵，政權又移轉至拉塔那可辛王朝。¹²⁷

新王（拉瑪一世，1782-1809 在位）盱衡時局，為穩固局勢而做了適時、適切的措施。首先，他從阿瑜陀耶廢墟裡搶救出一些倖存的佛像，帶往新都曼谷，作為繼續禮拜供養的對象。這些昔日的佛像 - 雖然多數已經斷手斷腳、體無完膚 - 仍可做為新政權的合法性基礎。¹²⁸ 因為前朝的信物猶如傳國之寶，能喚起泰國人的集體記憶；而戰火留下的斷壁殘垣 - 不論它是王宮或寺院的壁垣 - 更能激發他們對民族的情感，凝聚他們對國家的共識。¹²⁹ 因為，當亡國之恥記憶猶新，舉國上下力圖復興、重建家園之際，又當民族與宗教文化橫遭毀滅，全國同胞奮發振作，矢志要從廢墟再站起來之時，出現一位領袖（他既與前朝有關，¹³⁰手中握有前朝信物，又以民族文化相號召，切合時局所需、人心所思），那麼，他的號召力其大無比。登高一呼，追隨者眾。

拉瑪一世的下一步是整頓佛教，把佛教和政治緊密相結。他修復毀於兵戎的寺廟，啓建新寺以安置舊像；他並成立宗教事務部，¹³¹ 邀集大德、遺老整理三藏，分發各寺研習；他還修訂法典，使它符合巴利文三藏的精神。¹³² 這樣就把新王朝的政治、法典與宗教三者結合起來。¹³³

為了更加鞏固新政權，所以王朝成立之初的幾位國王，在小心翼翼、致力保存舊有文物時，並未放手大量製作佛像。即使要做新的，它們的風格與圖像，也大體繼承阿瑜陀耶晚期的作品；也就是裝飾華麗、材料貴重。例如，拉瑪三世（1824-1851 在位）捐資鑄造金、銀、銅佛像。這種得到國王背書的風格，在當時產生影響力；新雕像中就有不少類似的穿戴。

¹²³ 語出《老子》第五十八章。

¹²⁴ 1564、1569 緬甸即曾攻陷阿瑜陀耶城。

¹²⁵ 緬軍夷平城牆，填平護城河，放火把阿瑜陀耶城燒了。（賀聖達，1996，頁 236）

¹²⁶ 陳禮頌 譯，1988，頁 275-297。新政府轉戰各地，肅清割據勢力，收拾破碎河山。但它風塵僕僕，行無餘力，幾乎無以學文。

¹²⁷ 陳禮頌 譯，1988，頁 297-302。

¹²⁸ Smithies, 1996, p.608.

¹²⁹ 東南亞某些有佛教傳統的國家或民族，在遭逢外侮之時，其佛教及以它為根本的民族文化，往往成為舉國上下捍衛民族尊嚴的旗幟。（張英，1999，頁 89、92、103）

¹³⁰ 他是塔克辛王朝首長鄭信（以「鄭昭」之名為華人所知）的女婿；鄭信是阿瑜陀耶王朝的大將。

¹³¹ 謝光，1997，頁 161。

¹³² 張英，1999，頁 74。

¹³³ 這種作法一直延續到現在。例如，20 世紀裡泰國憲法雖然一改再改（至今十餘次），但是佛教的地位並未被改掉；憲法仍然規定國家、佛教、君主至上；護持佛教是國王的職責之一。

但是，拉瑪三世、四世（1851-1868 在位）及五世（1868-1910 在位）之後，泰國佛像的風格卻發生結構性的變化。其主要的的原因乃是：當時西方帝國主義風潮熾盛，列強憑藉「船堅砲利」向亞非各國扣關，展示武力，甚至重砲轟擊。亞非各國大都應聲而倒，並且多數被迫接受西方文化。值此危急存亡之秋，泰國王室採取因應之道，勵精圖治，以避免被殖民的命運。例如，拉瑪三世重新建立了與西方的交流關係。¹³⁴ 拉瑪四世推動國政改革；他還重視教育，延請歐人到泰國任教（包括到皇宮擔任貴族的教師），將西方文化輸入泰國。¹³⁵ 拉瑪五世則延續他父親的政策，敞開門戶，擁抱西方的科技、藝文思潮。¹³⁶

隨著西潮來臨，泰國佛像的風格產生重大變革。如上所述，拉瑪五世引進西方藝術觀念、技法和藝品。他甚至親赴歐洲考察，並對西方寫實主義的藝品大為讚賞；因此，他禮聘歐洲建築師、雕刻家、畫家到泰國皇宮工作。可能由於他的緣故，某些泰國雕刻家便以寫實主義來從事創作。因此，19 世紀裡，泰國出現了有西方寫實主義味道的佛像。例如，曼谷國立博物館裡，有一組小型雕像表現佛傳故事；雖然技術上未必純熟，可是整體來看非常生動、自然（見圖 20）。又如，拉瑪五世委製的「釋迦牟尼祈雨像」相當逼真，栩栩如生（見圖 21）。¹³⁷

拉瑪六世（1910-1925 在位）對巨變下的局勢，做了心態與方向上的調整，以便交融新舊、開創新機。他受乃父影響，自小接觸西方文化，並在英國受教，非常喜愛西方藝術；但他也是強烈的民族主義者。他的父親一心推廣西方藝術，忽略了傳統工藝；他則泰、西並重，並創立工藝美術學院（The School of Arts and Crafts）、藝術部（The Fine Arts Department）、暹羅學會（The Siam Society）¹³⁸ 以保存泰國的傳統藝術。結果，傳統風格的雕像得以生存，但也順應潮流，運用了新式技法。¹⁴⁰ 同時，西洋風格的雕像大量出現，但也汲取靈感於傳統的題材，以便創造出符合現代需求、又有泰國風味的新雕像。例證之一，是以現代的技術、材質來鑄造墮羅砵底式佛像。例證之二，是以寫實的手法，來製作泰國獨特的佛行像（見圖 22）。

從這裡我們可以知道，泰國不是抱殘守缺、拒絕更新；相反的，它求新求變、與時俱進。就像它在前述幾個階段中，都吸收外來成分、產生新的雕像一樣，現階段中，它也能在新

¹³⁴ 阿瑜陀耶中期，已與西方國家頻繁交往；例如，拉瑪鐵菩提二世（1491-1529 在位）就接見歐洲使節，並與歐洲國家（如葡萄牙）締約。（陳禮頌 譯，1988，頁 108-110）16 世紀末至 17 世紀初，西班牙、荷蘭、英國也相繼來到泰國。自然，他們也帶來部分歐洲文化；但是，其影響終究不若 19 世紀後的大。另一方面，泰國也派遣使者到歐陸。（The Siam Society, 1986）

¹³⁵ SarDesai, 1997, pp.133-135.

¹³⁶ SarDesai, 1997, pp.135-138.

¹³⁷ 但與此同時發生的，是有部份藝人工匠大力複製過去有名、廣受敬拜的佛像。例如，大理石寺（Marble Temple，即 Wat Benchamabophit）的主佛，就是仿自素可泰時期的雕像。（Smithies, 1996, p.607）

¹³⁸ 賀聖達，1996，頁 384。

¹³⁹ 關於拉瑪六世與暹羅學會，請參閱拙作，1999。

¹⁴⁰ Anuman Rajadhon, 1988, p.23.

的時代裡，一則回頭找到傳統文化的特點，二則隨著世界的脈動，學得新的表現方式，往前開創新局面。換言之，泰國佛像的衣鉢，不僅傳承下來，還有新的香火出現。

4. 結 論

有鑑於泰國佛教藝術是東南亞研究中非常重要的一環，因此，本文針對泰國佛教雕像作歷史性的縱向、橫向分析。本文以現存或晚近出土的文物（包括小乘、大乘、密宗）為依據，並將它們放在歷史情境中來檢視。結果發現，泰國佛像的風格，在過去一千多年的時間裡，持續產生變化。

具體而言，泰國在尚未獨立建國時，並沒有統一的藝術風格出現；境內各地的文化，在不同的歷史情境下，分別受到鄰近各種文化的影響。但是，在學習外來文化時，它們並非照單全收，而是選擇性地接受，並融合在地文化，從而發展出各地特有的風貌。接著，在獨立建國到強大的階段中，泰國雖然持續吸收外來文化，但獨特的藝術風格已漸漸浮現、形成，並持續到現在。近代西潮拍岸，泰國更吸納西洋的觀念，為佛像添加了寫實的色彩。這些不同階段的佛像，見證了泰國的歷史變遷，也有助於泰國人在歷史的過程中，建立起他們共同的認同與集體的記憶。

從泰國雕像的個案中，我們發現，藝術品與歷史情境（如地理、政治、經濟、尤其是宗教、藝術等因素）之間，有顯著的關連性。這使我們聯想到一個問題，就是除了本文所討論的因素外，還有哪些因素可能對藝品造成影響？同時，這種存在於藝品和歷史情境之間的關連性，除了可在泰國見到以外，是否也可見於東南亞其他國家？這應該是將來可以進一步研究的課題。

其次，我們由研究中知道，泰國吸收他國文化，以滋長、陶鑄自身的風格。那麼，泰國的風格，是否也相對地影響了東南亞其他國家或文化？如果是，則其影響何在？這也是日後可以一探究竟的問題。

最後，從本文的分析中，我們可以發現，雖然目前「國際化」、「區域化」等議題蔚為時尚，但是早在過去一千多年裡，東南亞就已形成區域性的文化。以泰國佛像為例，它就汲取了鄰近各地的養分（包括來自印度各王朝、錫蘭、南洋、高棉、孟人等等）；它也見證了這個區域在文化交流、文化融合上的歷史脈絡。同時，我們也發現到，正如泰國在學習外來文化時，仍逐漸開創出自己的風格；在東南亞的佛教文化圈中，各國還是存有相異之處。那麼，在歷史的長流中，東南亞各國之間的文化如何交融與分立？如何「異中有同、同中有異」？這些問題，也值得我們在未來的研究中，做更深入而細緻的探討。

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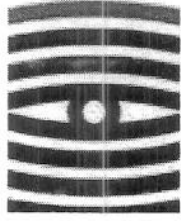
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FROM MAQÂM TO DASTGÂH：

The Origin and Structure of the Radif of Persian Classical Music

霍曼·阿薩地 (伊朗)

Mr. Hooman Asadi (Iran)

行政院文化建設委員會 指導

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FROM MAQÂM TO DASTGÂH

The Origin and Structure of the Radif of Persian Classical Music

Dr. Hooman Asadi

Each musical system is comprised of two fundamental elements, which may be referred to as the rhythmic-temporal and the tonal-spatial components.ⁱ The former comprises the rhythmic cycles, while the latter refers to the modal system. This paper is devoted to study aspects of evolution and structure of the modal and melodic system in contemporary Persian classical music, as manifested in the concepts of the dastgâh and the radif.

Radif and Dastâgh: The radif is the traditional model repertory of Persian classical music. It is comprised of twelve collections, which are usually described in terms of seven primary and five secondary cycles, respectively referred to as the dastgâh and the âvâz. Each cycle or dastgâh generally contains several modes, but its conception is not confined to that of the mode. Although the concepts of dastgâh and radif are closely related, they have not evolved simultaneously. Actually the concept of the dastgâh was introduced in the late Safavid era, probably towards the end of the 17th century, while the idea of the radif seems to be introduced in late 19th or early 20th century.

Evolution of the dastgâh, origin of the radif: The dastgâh was evolved out of the old maqâm system. The maqâms as the bases of the modal system of the classical musical tradition in the world of Islam have been described in detail in many medieval musical treatises in Persian, Arabic and Turkish.ⁱⁱ The term maqâm proper seems to have been introduced to the music of the Islamic world in the 13th century as referred to by Qutb al-Din Shirâzi of the Systematist School in his significant musical treatise named *Durrat al-Tâj li-Ghurrat al-Dabbâj*.ⁱⁱⁱ However this concept had already been discussed by Safi al-Din Ormavi and some other medieval theorists in terms of the *adwâr* as scales or modal cycles.^{iv} In subsequent musical treatises the term maqâm, as usually synonymous with the *parda* and *shad*, is frequently used in this sense. There were twelve main maqâms described in these musical treatises.^v Each maqâm enjoyed a unique modal structure, however there were also other secondary modal entities like *shu'be* and *âvâzeh*.

It seems that the modal and melodic system of Persian music, like most of the other musical cultures in the world of Islam, was based on the maqâms up to the Safavid era. But it is believed that with the Safavid dynasty (1501-1722) the destiny of Persia moved in a different direction from that of the other Muslim nations in the region. During this era, there took place important

socio-cultural changes in Persia the impressions of which were reflected in music as well. In late Safavid period, there was gradually introduced a new concept, as part of the maqâm system, which itself subsequently turned out to become the modal and melodic basis of Persian musical system. The process of development and formation of this new musical system may be studied in four stages.

(1) Introduction of the dastgah as a component of the maqâm system: In the first stage, as mentioned in some musical manuscripts of the late Safavid era, the concept of dastgâh was sometimes used along with the maqâm concept. For instance in some manuscripts from this period, certain maqâms were referred to as either having dastgâh or not having dastgâh.^{vi} It seems that dastgâh in this period might have referred to a potential cyclic principle existing in certain maqâms. Therefore, the dastgâh might have been a criterion to distinguish the melodic or cyclic structure of the maqâms, although the modal system was still discussed in terms of the maqâms.

(2) Formulation of the twelve dastgâhs: In the second stage the concept of the dastgâh replaced the concept of the maqâm in terms of modal and melodic system. The most striking statements regarding this significant change may be found in a hitherto less-known musical manuscript named *Kulliyat-e Yûsufî* composed by Dhiyâ al-Dîn Yûsuf in the reign of Fath'Alî Shâh (1797-1835). Having discussed about the traditional classification of the maqâms, the author added in his final statements that there were twelve dastgâhs formulated by Âqâ Bâbâ Makhmûr, a highly prestigious musician in the reign of Fath'Alî Shâh. The names of these dastgâhs considerably concord with their contemporary names, although there is currently no solid information regarding the modal or cyclic structure of those dastgâhs as referred to by Dhiyâ al-Dîn Yûsuf.

(3) Reformulation of the dastgâhs: In the third stage, this new musical system underwent a reformulation into seven primary cycles called dastgâh and five secondary cycles named âvâz. In a musical treatise titled *Bohur al-Alhân*, which was composed by Forsat al-Dawleh Shirâzi (1855-1920), some statements denoting the introduction of this new musical system were also cited. According to him, sometime in that century the old dastgâh system underwent a reformulation and was arranged into seven dastgâhs. He also mentions that there are some secondary entities or derivatives in the dastgâh system. These entities are usually referred to as the âvâzes, however he does not mention this term. (18-19) According to him, modulation in the dastgâhs was also a relatively recent phenomenon and was not a common practice prior to that period. (27)

(4) The idea of the Radif: Subsequently the idea of the radif as a cycle of cycles and the model repertory was introduced. The idea of the radif is usually attributed to the Farahâni family

of musicians at the Qajar court. The earliest radifs, which were originally arranged on the long-necked lutes were the versions of Mirzâ 'Abdollâh and Âqâ Hossein Qoli. As Nettl suggests the introduction of the concept of the radif as a model repertory for instruction might have been a result of getting familiar with the western musical repertories.^{vii} There are currently several instrumental and vocal versions of the radif. Although they do share the same basic principles, they vary in nomenclature and number of their gûshes.

Structure of the radif: *Radif* is comprised of seven primary cycles (*dastgâh*) and five secondary ones (*âvâz*), which in turn embody a collection of more than 250 melodic models (*gûshe*) arranged in a specific order. It serves as the basis for instruction and improvisatory performance in Persian classical music. *Dastgâh* may also be described as a set of modes, which has a cyclic structure. In terms of the modal system, there is usually one primary mode presented in the first *gûshe* of each *dastgâh*, which is called *darâmad*. Then there are presented other modes in some of the subsequent *gûshes*. Cyclic structure of the *dastgâh* refers to the manner of unfolding the *gûshes*. They are usually unfolded from lower to higher tonal registers. Having reached the peaks or climatic points, which are called *owj*, the tonal register gradually returns back to the original as presented in the *darâmad*. The modulatory *gûshes* return also back to the primary mode through certain cadential formulas. *Âvâz* is usually regarded as a derivative or secondary *dastgâh*. Its concept resembles that of the *dastgâh*, but it mainly accommodates fewer *gûshes* and usually begins from relatively higher tonal registers.

The seven *dastgâhs* are *shûr*, *mâhûr*, *navâ*, *homâyûn*, *segâh*, *chahârgâh* and *râstpanjgâh*. There belong four *avazes* to *dastgâh-e shûr*, which are called 'Abû 'Atâ, *Bayât-e Tork*, *Dashti* and *Afshâri*. However sometimes other *âvâzes* according to other classifications may also be referred to as derivatives of *shûr* such as *Bayât-e Kord*.

The modal structure of Persian classical music is generally based on bi-tetrachordal developments, i.e. through conjunct tetrachords. There are several primary tetrachords, the various combinations of which present different modes that are composed of flexible intervals of microtonic structures. Usually the *gûshes* develop within intervallic structures of tetrachords and pentachords, however in some *gûshes* the range of melodic movements may even exceed an octave.

Gûshes are the traditional melodic models of Persian classical music, which have been derived from various sources including folk musics of various regions of Iran. Although each *gûshe* has a particular modal, metro-rhythmic and melodic structure, usually one of these traits may be regarded as its most significant characteristic. Therefore, the *gûshes* may be classified into

three main types.

1. Gûshes of modal characteristics such as the darâmad, the first gûshe of each dastgâh or âvâz, which represents the primary mode as well as the usual cadential figure of the given dastgâh or âvâz. Also there are a number of other gûshes the modes of which vary from the primary mode of the given dastgâh or âvâz.
2. Gûshes of originally metro-rhythmic characteristics such as the so-called vagrant gûshes like *kereshmeh*, *basteh-negâr*, *zangûleh* and so on, which may even be presented in other modes. Also some other pieces in the radif like *chahârmezrâbs* and *rengs* enjoy particular metro-rhythmic structures.
3. Other gûshes, which are just recognized according to their melodic curves. For instance, there are usually several gûshes presented in each of the modes within any cycles to establish that mode.

Gûshes are actually the raw materials and the model melodies to be used as patterns for improvisation, which is the core of a traditional performance of Persian classical music.

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- ⁱ cf. Habib Hassan Touma, *The Music of the Arabs*, New Expanded Edition, Translated by Laurie Schwartz, Amadeus Press, Portland, Oregon, 1996.
- ⁱⁱ consult Amnon Shiloah, *The Theory of Music in Arabic Writings (c. 900-1900)*. Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in Libraries of Europe and the U.S.A. RILM BX. G. Henle Verlag, Munchen, 1979. Owen Wright, *The Modal System of Arab and Persian Music: A.D. 1250-1300*. London: Oxford University Press, 1978. Mohammad-Taghi Massoudieh, *Manuscrits Persans Concernant La Musique*. RISM, BXII, G. Henle Verlag, Munchen, 1996.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Qutb al-Din Mahmûd ibn Dhiyâ' al-Din Mas'ûd al-Shirâzi, *Durrat al-Tâj li-Ghurrat al-Dabbâj*, edited by Meshkât, Enteshârâte Hekmat, Tehran, 1369/1990. cf. Mohammad-Taghi Massoudieh, *Radîfe âvâzi-e mûsiqi-e irân be navâyat-e Mahmud Karimi, Tehran*, Mahoor Pub. 1997, Angelika Jung, *Quellen der traditionellen Kunstmusik der Usbeken und Tadshiken Mittelasiens: Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Entwicklung des Šaşnaqam*, Verlag der Musikalienhandlung, Karl Dieter Wagner, Hamburg, 1989.
- ^{iv} Safi al-Din al-Ormavi, *Kitâb al-Adwâr*, edited by Mahmûd Ahmad al-Hefni and Ghattas 'Abdolmalek al-Khashaba, 1986. Amnon Shiloah, *Ibid.*, Massoudieh, *Ibid.*
- ^v Wright, *Ibid.*
- ^{vi} [Rowhâni], *Dar bayân-e 'elm-e mûsiqi 'u dânestan-e shu'abât-e ôû*, Manuscript number 2591/6, ff. 791-798. Central Library of the University of Tehran. *Resâle dar 'elm-e mûsiqi*, Microfilm 2214, Central Library of the University of Tehran.
- ^{vii} Bruno Nettl, *The Radif of Persian Music: Studies of Structure and Cultural Context*, revised edition, Illinois: Elephant & Cat, 1992.

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從木卡姆到塔斯卡：伊朗古典音樂拉迪夫的源流與結構

FROM MAQÂM TO DASTGÂH : The Origin and Structure of the Radif of Persian Classical Music

／霍曼·阿薩地 (伊朗)Mr. Hooman Asadi (Iran)

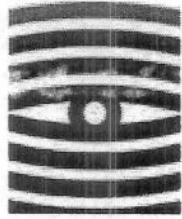
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Asia-Pacific Traditional Arts Forum

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文化孤兒的省思：
新加坡劇場的抉擇與掙扎
Considerations of a Cultural Orphan
Choices and Challenges of the Singapore Theatre

郭寶崑（新加坡）

Mr. Kuo, Pao-Kun (Singapore)

行政院文化建設委員會 指導

Directed by the Council for Cultural Affairs,
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Considerations of a Cultural Orphan Choices and Challenges of the Singapore Theatre

Kuo, Pao-Kun

The revival of traditional culture and arts has generally been propelled by a people's realization that, due to colonization and/or modernization, the traditional culture and arts have been wounded, ignored or displaced. The usual remedy is for the relevant peoples to find ways and means to revive the wounded cultures and art forms, to nurture their roots back to health and to bring them once again into the mainstream of their contemporary life.

This is much more difficult for peoples who have long been dislodged from their mother cultures. The problem is many times aggravated when the uprooting had been radical and prolonged, especially when the totally uprooted peoples have been taken away from their ancestral land, brought to a multi-ethnic environment.

Many individuals and groups have gone through such experience when they migrate to alien countries. In Modern Singapore, however, the entire nation had been built through such a process of displacement. Even to the extent of totally giving up their mother languages, adopting the ex-colonial English for official business as well as daily living.

For, 200 years ago, Modern Singapore began as a sparsely populated island suddenly swamped by a diversity of immigrants – Britons, Chinese, Indians, archipelago Malays.

For the overwhelming majority who settled there, the move to the island meant an alienation from their own traditional cultural environment.

The Singapore People's radical displacement from their mother cultures and their mother languages became an entrenched system when, after gaining independence, the former colonial language English was elevated to first language status and all ethnic tongues (Chinese, Malay, Tamil) relegated to second language status.

While the supremacy of English seemingly helped much in developing Singapore's thriving economy, it has posed monumental challenges to the nation's cultural development.

Some 10 years ago, I started using the term Cultural Orphan to describe this unique Singapore dilemma. It is not an endearing description, but more and more people are beginning to accept it as one way of describing Singapore's cultural dislocation.

But every negative turn in life brings with it an opportunity to transcend bad fortune. In

the last 2 decades, when Singapore realized its severe loss of cultural heritage, and urgently started to redress the problem, a new vision began to emerge.

Since there is no way the displaced descendants of the various ethnicities could be re-connected back to their respective roots in what some considered as a more benign continuum of development, Singaporeans adopted an openness and eagerness to take on several cultural heritages to be their own.

There is a realization that, while individuals have lost one set of parents, the way is open for them to create a multi-parentage, sinking roots into a diversity of traditions which lineally descended children of particular traditions find it difficult to do.

More than any other groupings in Singapore, the Singapore Theatre has developed this possibility more potently And seemingly quite effectively. Both in their creative work as well as the conceptualization of new education, training and research programmes.

They have openly and boldly embraced not only the Chinese, Malay and Indian traditions but have also unreservedly embraced the Japanese and other traditional theatre cultures as integral parts.

Latest in this search for a multiple cultural rooting is expressed by a new theatre training and research programme launched by the Practice Performing Arts School which has embraced 5 classical theatre cultures – Chinese, Indian, Japanese, Indonesian and European.

The thinking is actually quite straight forward: "Since no Chinese in Singapore could return to a mono-Chinese culture, nor an Indian Indian, Malay Malay, we should, each one of us, all go forward to embrace all the diverse cultures.

Which means, in this 3-yr professional programme, every student will be trained in Chinese Classical Theatre (Xi Qu), un Indian Classical Theatre (Bharata Natyam), in Japanese Classical Theatre (Noh) and Indonesian Classical Theatre (Wayang Wong). At the same time, European Theatre from the Greeks down will also be richly exposed to the students.

The interesting thing is that, no one has protested why the programme has not focused on one of Singapore's major component cultures. May be one reason for that is: Prior to this teaching programme, numerous theatre groups in Singapore have been energetically exploring the dialogue and synthesis between diverse theatre traditions.

These are clear examples of the result of a cultural orphan's considerations in the face of inevitable challenges thrown at them by the fast developing national, regional and global arts and

cultural movement.

The opportunities and dangers of such a journey of artistic experimentation and cultural exploration merits serious examination and critique.

One possible problem is that while each citizen has a traceable history to pursue in his/her own racial and historical, the same connection can hardly be made in other the cultures they learn. Which means the cultures “alien” to one’s own race are normally learned without life connections – present or past. As such, it is very likely that most of the people would learn “other” cultures with a sense of exoticism.

However, if they could somehow manage to transcend that problem, and go on to effectively suck milk from many mothers, the orphaning journey would then become a necessary journey of trials and tribulations leading to a richer multi-cultural heritage.

I would like to be able to report some results in 5-10 years time.

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文化孤兒的省思：新加坡劇場的抉擇與掙扎

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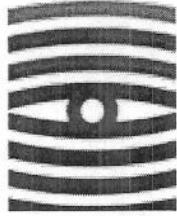
文獻題名的書寫：新加坡的挑戰與機遇
Questions of a Cultural Origin: Cases and Challenges of the Singapore Theatre
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韓國戲劇面具的類型及儺禮的影響
The Types of Korean Mask Dramas and The Influence
of Narye

田耕旭 (韓國)

Dr. Kyung Wook Jeon (Korea)

行政院文化建設委員會 指導

Directed by the Council for Cultural Affairs,
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The Types of Korean Mask Dramas and The Influence of *Narye*

Dr. Jeon, Kyung Wook

1. Regional Distribution and Characteristics of Mask Dramas

A Korean mask drama consists of a dialogue, songs, and dance. The play consists of several acts, and each of the events and stories is not organically linked but independent from one another. In other words, there is no single unifying plot. Each act portrays different conflicts and themes and often reflect a social criticism, especially, during the latter half of the Choson Dynasty.

Korean mask dramas were plays of the common people who wanted to vent their frustrations as well as be able to laugh at themselves by adding a humorous and a satirical touch to a world deemed oppressive and unjust. All Korean mask dramas have in common episodes such as ancient ritual dance, a yangban(ruling aristocrats) dance, an old Buddhist monk dance, and an old-man-and-woman dance. Shamanic and religious ritual dances to ward off evil spirits such as *Sangjwa* or *Obangshinjang* dances are usually performed in the first act of these mask dramas.

Comic satire in the mask dramas is aimed mainly at two groups of people from the elite class in the society: the immoral Buddhist monks and the degenerate aristocrats. For example, the yangban episode is a satirical vignette, portraying a servant named *Malttugi* who ridicules the corrupt ruling yangban class. The old Buddhist high monk, *Nojang* (an apostate Buddhist monk), episode is a satire of an old corrupt monk who is entranced by a young woman and falls into debauchery. Lastly, the old-man-and-woman episode was a denouncement of men's tyranny and oppression of women prevalent in a feudal society by portraying an old man, old woman and a coquettish concubine, in an illicit love triangle, fighting, and the old man ill-treating the old woman. Depending on the regions, different drama acts were added such as *Sadang Gosa* dance, *Saja ch'um* (Lion dance), or a *Mun'dungi ch'um* (Leper dance), etc.

Sandae Nori (play) and *Haeso Talch'um* (mask dance) are accompanied by stringed and wind instruments called the *Samhyunyukgak*: *p'iri* (cylindrical double-reed bamboo oboe), *jotdae* (a flute), *haegum* (two-stringed fiddle), *changgo* (hourglass-shaped drum), *puk* (barrel drum), etc. *Pukch'ong* lion dance is accompanied by such musical instruments as *toongso* (a bamboo flute), *puk*, *jing* (gong), etc. Other mask dramas are accompanied by percussion instruments such as a *puk*, *changgo*, *jing*, *kkwenggwari* (a small hand-held gong), etc.

Until the 1930s there were numerous kinds of mask dramas in various regions of Korea but many of them disappeared with only some surviving today. Mask dances varied by region.

(1)*Pyolsandae Nori* (play) from Seoul and Kyonggido : Mask dramas performed by professional actors from Seoul's *Aeogae* and *Sajikgol* districts during the later period of the Choson Dynasty (from the first half of the 18th to the beginning of the 20th century) are referred to as *Sandae* plays. *Pyolsandae* plays earned their name because they were a derivation from the *Sandae* plays and at present, Seoul's *Songpa'pyolsandae* plays and Kyonggi's *Yangju'pyolsandae* plays are still being performed. The very delicate and elegant dance forms of *Pyolsandae* plays were inherited from the refined dance traditions of the central provinces. The dance forms were very specialized and categorized based on their variety of styles. Masks used in *Pyolsandae* plays have a very human and a rather sweet image, and their diverse styles are well crafted, demonstrating a great deal of artistic skills.

Yangju'pyolsandae plays were performed on the 3rd day of the third lunar month, the 8th day of the fourth lunar month(Buddha's birthday), the 5th day of the fifth lunar month(spring festival), the 15th day of the eighth lunar month (the Harvest Full-Moon Festival called *Ch'usok*), on the 9th day of the ninth month, and during communal prayer rituals for rain. The play had the following acts:

Act 弘 : the first act begins with a *Sangjwa-ch'um*, which is an opening ceremonial dance by a young Buddhist monk;

Act 弗 : the second is a play about a pock-marked monk and a young monk;

Act 必 : the third is a play about an apostate monk and the pock-marked monk;

Act 戊 : the fourth is a play about an old monk, named *Yonnip* (lotus leaf, symbolizing the spirit of heaven), looking up at the sky and a blinking monk (symbolizing the spirit of earth) looking down at the ground;

Act 打 : the fifth is a play about the Eight apostate Monks' Buddhist Chant;

Act 扔 : the sixth is a play of acupuncture by *Malttugi*, the servant;

Act 扒 : the seventh is about the drum dance of a young female apprentice entertainer;

Act 扑 : the eighth is a dance of the apostate Buddhist monk;

Act 斥 : the ninth is a dance of a shoe salesman;

Act 且 : the tenth is a play of *Ch'wibari*, a roving and flirtatious bachelor, who scolds the depraved old monk, prevents the monk's lover, *So'mu*, (a young female) from loving him, and gets her pregnant instead.

Act 汎 : the eleventh is a dance of the Inn servant, *Malttugi*, who scorns a yangban in the inn;

Act 本 : the twelfth is a dance of *Podobujang*(the police inspector) who takes the old noble-man's

concubine away from him;

Act 必: the thirteenth is a dance of Grandpa *Shin* and Grandma *Miyal*, in which the Grandma meets a miserable death due to her husband's ill treatment.

Epilogue: a shaman rite for the dead is performed, which is considered to be a channel for salvation into a better world.

(2)*Haeso* mask dances from Hwanghaedo: Mask dances from the Hwanghaedo are referred to as *Haeso* mask dance. Depending on the masks, costumes, dance forms, and dialogues used, *Haeso* mask dances can be divided into two main types: one is the *Pongsan*-mask-dance type common in such areas as Kirin, Sohung, Pongsan, Jaeryong, Sinch'on, Anak, etc.; and the other is the *Haeju*-mask-dance type common in Ongjin, Kangnyong, Haeju, etc. The *Pongsan*-mask-dance-types are currently represented by *Pongsan* and *Unryul* mask dances and *Haeju*-mask-dance-types by *Kangnyong* mask dance.

The dances of the *Pongsan*-mask-dance types are more lively and nimble than those in the *Haeju*-mask-dance types. The *Mokjung's* (apostate monks) dance, incorporates moves of running and jumping that are skillfully executed. The dances are less precisely executed than the *Yangju'sandae* dances, but they show a greater variety and flexibility.

Masks used in *Pongsan*-mask-dance types are made basically out of paper and show a great sense of modeling in terms of their shapes and colors. Masks of *Pal'mokjung* (eight apostate monks) and *Ch'wibari* have more fantastic images - as opposed to being realistic - with extreme uneven and winding surfaces. On the other hand, *Haeju*-mask-dance-types use masks of a more realistic human image, lacking the uneven and winding surfaces, but featuring rather prominent eyeballs.

The basic costume for *Pongsan*-mask-dance types is *Jwachong* (left side blue) and *Uhong* (right side red) outfit, a pullover jacket with green sleeves worn over the long gown, and finally red and blue sashes. For *Haeju*-mask-dance-types, a *Jangsam* (long gown) made of grey arrowroot hempcloth is worn with such long sleeves that they almost touch the ground. The dance forms of *Pongsan*-mask-dance types involve such basic gestures as grasping *Jangsam's* sleeves and tossing them or the *Hansam* (a white cloth attached to sleeves to cover hands) cheerfully tossed with rapid arm movements of stretching and curling, which is called the *Kekki* dance. But for *Haeju*-mask-dance types, the dance is performed in a slow motion, and the sleeves are tossed over one's head.

Pongsan mask dance can be divided into seven acts:

Act 弘 : the first act is the *Sangjwa-ch'um* (dance), a ceremonial opening dance by four young monks;

Act 弗 : the second is *Pal'mokjung* dance or a virile group dance performed by eight apostate monks;

Act 必 : the third is the *Sadang* dance, a dance of the Female Entertainer and the Debauched Monk,;

Act 戊 : the fourth is the *Nojang* (an apostate monk) dance, a dance of the old monk, which has three scenes. The first scene is the dance of the old monk and So'mu; the second scene is the *Shin'jangsu* dance or the dance of the shoe salesman; and the third scene is the *Ch'wibari* dance;

Act 打 : the fifth is the *Saja ch'um* (Lion dance);

Act 扔 : the sixth is the *Yangban* dance;

Act 扒 : the seventh is the *Yonggam, Halmi ch'um* or the dance of Grandma and Grandpa Miyal.

(3) *Yaryu* and *Ogwangdae* mask dances from the southern Kyongsangdo: *Yaryu* style was transmitted from the east of the Naktonggang River of the Kyongsangnamdo and *Ogwangdae* style came from the west of the River. The styles of the *Yaryu* and *Ogwangdae* mask dramas are known to have originated from the riverside known as *Chogye Pammari*(Kyungsangnamdo Hapchongun Dokgokmyon Yuljiri) of the Naktonggang River. In the marketplace of *Pammari*, a professional itinerant entertaining troupe called *Taegwangdaep'ae* performed various entertainment acts, mostly mask dramas. Thus, *Ogwangdae* and *Yaryu* were adaptations from the plays and acrobatic feats of *Taegwangdaep'ae*. At present, only two types of *Yaryu* style, namely *Suyong Yaryu* and *Dongnae Yaryu* remain. *Ogwangdae* style has three types, namely, *T'ongyong Ogwangdae*, *Kosong Ogwangdae*, and *Kasan Ogwangdae*.

Unlike *Haeso* mask dances and *Pyolsandae* plays, *Yaryu* and *Ogwangdae* are of a different type with their own unique archaic and strong provincial style. Their mask dramas convey the impression that they are primarily a play of *Malttugi* whose character is given a lot of weight. The dance forms of *Yaryu* and *Ogwangdae* originate from the so-called *Dotbwegi* dance, a local folk dance of Kyongsangnamdo.

If the masks of *Sandae* plays and *Haeso* mask dances portray a human image, masks used in *Yaryu* and *Ogwangdae* are voodoo-like. In *Yaryu* and *Ogwangdae* plays, the inhuman aspects are stressed through such exaggerated mask features as: abnormally big mask of *Malttugi*, masks of *Yongno* and *Bibi* (imaginative monsters), the decomposed face mask of the leper, and yangban mask which is greatly deformed.

Fashioned in the Kyongsangnamdo, *Suyong Yaryu* still remains intact, and is performed under the full moon of the 1st lunar month. Its acts are as follows: Act I is the Dance of the Nobleman; Act II, the Dance of *Yongno*; Act III, the Dance of Grandpa and Grandma; and Act IV, the Dance of the Lion. The curtain falls about midnight, and at the end of the performance, the villagers and performers gather the masks and burn them as a prayer for good health and good fortune.

Acts performed in *Kasan Ogwangdae* are: Act I, the ritual dance of *Obangshinjang'mu* (the Dance of the Five Guardians of Five Directions); Act II, the Dance of *Yongno* (a lion or a monster which is said to have descended from heaven and eaten up the yellow Guardian of the Center); Act III, the Dance of the Lepers (describes the wretched life of the Lepers); Act IV is the dance of the Noblemen (The servant *Maltugi* humiliates his lords, symbolizing the struggle of the peasantry); Act V, the Old Monk Dance (entranced by *So'mu* and falls into debauchery); Act VI, the Dance of Grandpa and Grandma (depicts the love triangle of Grandpa, his wife and his concubine).

(4) *Hahoe Pyolshin-kut* Mask Play of Kyongsangbukdo: Until the first quarter of the 20th century, performing *Hahoe Pyolshin-kut* had been a traditional custom in Hahoe village, Kyongsangbukdo, as part of the village ritual festival(通???). The word *pyolshin* broadly means an exorcism or an incantation practiced by shamans or by fishermen, while *kut* denotes a spectacle or a show. The two words put together mean a spectacle of incantations. *Pyolshin-kut* was part of *Sonang-kut*(a concrete term of *Tongje*) held once every ten years on a large scale. At Hahoe Village, two types of festivals were carried out: *Tongje*, the village ritual festival, was performed every year whereas *Pyolshin-kut*, shamanic ritual, was carried out more or less once every ten years. *Tongje* was simple and performed by only a handful of participants, but *Pyolshin-kut* required far greater and more elaborate preparations. It was a grand offering to the village tutelary gods, and the mask dance served to please them with a colorful entertainment.

The acts involved in the mask drama were as follows: the first act, the Dance of *Chuji*(lions). This opening is a sort of exorcism of evil spirits. Wearing *Chuji* masks with pigeon feathers attached on their heads and covering their bodies with shaggy yellow hempcloth similar to that worn for mourning, a pair of lions dance a pas de deux; the second is the Dance of the Butcher. The butcher comes out with a mesh bag containing an ax and a knife, slaughters a bull, cuts off its testicles, and tries to sell them to the spectators. The third is the play of Grandma. With a gourd hanging about her waist, grandma sings about the adversities of her life while weaving on a loom. The fourth is the Dance of the Apostate Monk. *Pune*, the female entertainer, appears with smiling crescent eyes, dances with a coquettish motion, and urinates on the ground. The peeping

Apostate Monk sniffs the wet earth, gets aroused, and drags the girl away. The fifth is a play of *yangban* and a scholar.

The expressions on *Hahoe* masks are Korean in that they have Korean frames and facial features. The wooden masks stand out as masterpieces which express greatly the characters' personalities, taking their various roles into account. According to many corroborating materials, *Hahoe* masks date back to the 11th and 12th centuries of the middle of the Koryo Dynasty.

(5) *Kangnung Kwanno* Mask Drama (Government-slave mask drama) of the Kangwondo: the Government-slave mask drama of Kangnung took place on *Tano*(譚) day during Tongje festival. the government-slave mask drama is the only masked pantomime in Korea performed by government slaves. Moreover, whereas the acts of mask dramas of other provinces are independent, the *Kangnung Kwanno* Mask Drama's acts are closely related to one another. The play proceeds with a narrative tale centering on the *yangban* and the *S'omae-kakshi*(young female). The cast of the *Kwanno* Mask Drama is made up of 1 *yangban* player, 1 maid, 2 *Sisi-Tataki* (guards) and 2 *Jangja Mari* (young men).

The drama is divided into five parts: the first part is the *Jangja Mari* dance; the second, a love scene between a *yangban* and a young girl; the third, *Sisi Tataki* dance; the fourth, a suicide attempt by the young girl; and the fifth, the *yangban* and the girl reaching a compromise.

(6) *Pukch'ong Saja Norum* of Hamgyongdo: Lion's plays were performed in the southern areas of Hamgyongdo such as Pukch'ong, Hamju, Jongpyong, Younghong, Hongwon, and the northern areas of Kyongsong, Myongchon, Musan, Jongsong, Kyongwon, etc. Although the Dance of the Lion may be found in many regional mask dance dramas in Korea, Pukch'ong's Lion Dance was the most famous and outstanding among the Hamgyongdo's Lion dance plays. This mask dance drama was kept up in the whole county of Pukch'ong, Hamgyongnamdo. In the evening of every fifteenth of the lunar New Year, villages that belonged to *Pukch'onggun's* 11 subcounties and 3 towns performed the *Pukch'ong* Lion dance as part of New Year's tradition.

The lion, the king of the jungle, was believed by the Koreans to have the magical power to drive away ominous spirits from households. The Lion Dance was, therefore, very popular during ceremonies and rituals and was naturally a part of other mask dance dramas. Every village in the Pukch'ong region played a different lion dance. When the performers in lion costumes and masks put on a boisterous performance in a courtyard, the owner of the house would come out. The troupe would then look into every corner of the house, even into the barn and other places as if it would eat up anything of ominous character or of malicious spirits. *Pukch'ong Saja Norum* went on in the following sequence: courtyard circling dance, *sadang* and

gosa dances, *mudang* (shaman) dance, hunchback's dance, the sword dance with the appearance of such characters as *sungmu*, Buddhist monk, doctor, *yangbans*, and *Kkokswe* (yangban's servant). It was a dance not only to ward off evil spirits but also to pray for a rich harvest. The lions' running around from house to house ringing their bell to ward off evil spirits from the corners of every household reminds one of the *Narye*(??) ceremony.

(7) *Namsadang Nori*: *Namsadang Nori*, is an entertainment handed down by touring male performers from the lower class. Accompanied by percussion music, they performed six shows: *Pungmul* (rural outdoor music and dance or *Nongak*, farmers' music), *Bona* (dish spinning), *Salpan* (acrobatic feats), *Orum* (tightrope walking), *Dotbwegi* (mask drama), *Dolmi* (puppet show), etc. The story of *Dotbwegi* mask drama is similar to that of *Yangju'pyolsandae* play.

2. The Types of Korean Mask Dramas

Korean mask dramas can be divided into two types: *Sandae Nori* (???) type and *Maul kut* (???, village festival) type. When comparing the composition of acts, the names and personalities of characters, the scripts, the dramatic forms, and the types of masks, *P'yolsandae* play, *Haeso* mask dance, *Yaryu* and *Ogwangdae*, *Namsadangpae's Dotbwegi* are of a similar type in that they are all descended from a *Sandae Nori*. But *Hahoe Pyolshin-kut* mask play and *Kangnung Kwanno* mask plays are of a *Maul-kut* type, locally generated mask dramas.

Sandae Nori-type mask dramas had been passed down from the Unified Shilla Period to the Choson Dynasty and were revived during the late Choson period in the vicinity of Seoul by professional players called *Banin*(??). They created the *Sandae Nori* to portray the then current social conditions. *Banin* adapted the inherited mask dramas and plays to the new social conditions of the late Choson period and created *Ponsandae Nori*, which is assumed to have been influenced by *Maul kut*, locally generated mask dramas, as well. More importantly, there is no doubt that the Banin created *Ponsandae Nori* centering around the theatricals and mask dramas that had continuously evolved throughout the Unified Shilla period, Koryo and Choson Dynasties from *Sanakbaekhee*(????), which had been introduced to Korea from China during the Three Kingdoms Period. Mask dramas such as "Daemyon" and "Sokdok" already existed in the Unified Shilla period and an article on *Jon yong-bo*, vol. 124 of *Koryosa*, records that a masked player was referred to as "kwangdae" and hence one can surmise that professional players performed mask dramas during the Koryo Dynasty. From the Choson record of *Munjong Shillok*(樓??醜) on June 10, 1451, the year of king Munjong's enthronement, one can find out that *Soochoks* performed a *Sohakjihee* (a short and simple drama with a humorous script) called "Seung kwangdae" which

was similar to a mask drama. There is also "Lee milYang daek Yonseok Kwanuheejak", a Chinese poem written by Kim Gu in 1525, describing a play performed by a professional masked actor at a nobleman's house party. One can surmise that the Banin created *Sandae Nori* during the first half of the 18th century based on these mask dramas and theatricals passed down by professional players. Thus, the story of "Namsong Kwanheeja," including the *Ponsandae Nori* seen by Kang I-chon in 1779, was very similar to that of the currently performed *Yangju'pyolsandae Nori* and *Pongsan* mask dances. In particular, a great deal of *Narye's* influence can be observed in the current mask dramas because the Banin(?) were the professional players mobilized to perform in the *Narye*(?). For example, in *Sandae Nori* type mask dramas such as *Pyolsandae Nori*, *Haeso* mask dance, *Yaryu*, *Ogwangdae*, etc., a character named "So'mu" constantly appears and this "So'mu" is "So'mae." According to Song Hyon's *Yongjechonghwa*, So'mae was a character which already appeared in the early period of the Choson Dynasty. Thus, in plays performed by professional players from the early to the later period of Choson Dynasty, a character named So'mae appeared constantly. The fact that this character appears constantly in *Sandae Nori*-type mask dramas proves that *Sandae Nori* was an adapted version of mask dramas played by and inherited from the past professional players. Furthermore, the present *Sandae Nori*-type mask dramas show many other influences from *Narye* and the past theatricals of the professional players.

3. The Influence of *Narye* on Korean Mask Dramas

Although the first record on the introduction of *Narye*(?) to Korea appeared in 1040 of the Koryo Dynasty, the sixth year of King Chongjong's reign, it is most likely that *Narye* came to Korea earlier. As already mentioned, *Narye* was originally performed on New Year's Eve in the court as well as among the common people as a ritual ceremony to ward off evil spirits. The ritual involved masked people making a gesture with a certain wand-like tool and reciting incantations.(This ritual was referred to as *Kuyok Uishik*). Towards the end of the Koryo Dynasty, there was a gradual perceptual shift from regarding *Narye* as *Kuyok Uishik* (a ritual to drive away plague-causing demons) to *Jabhibu*(all kinds of plays). This new perception began to spread and people gradually came to regard *Narye* as *Naryehi*(???) or *Nahi*(??). This change in perception reached a new height in the Choson Dynasty giving the impression that the original meaning of *Narye* referred to plays and not a formal ritual.

In *Munjong Shillok*(樓??醜)'s(a historical record of the Choson Dynasty during King Mungjong's reign) article on June 10, 1451 of King Munjong's coronation year the word *Narye*(?)

is mentioned when describing the reception of the Chinese envoys. The word *Na* here, however, was used not in the sense of *Kuyok Uishik* but in the sense of *Jabhi or Nahi*. During the reception of Chinese envoys, *Nahi* was performed, and the term "Na" was used in the sense of *Jabhi* (miscellaneous plays) which was played in *Narye*.

The personalities of characters appearing in mask dramas and the dramatic forms were directly and greatly influenced by the personalities of *Narye*'s characters and the so-called *Kuna*(??) style. That is because the original *Sandae Nori*, which gave birth to the extant *Sandae Nori*-type mask dramas, was created by the very Banin who were mobilized to play in *Narye* as well as during the reception of Chinese envoys.

In the first half of the Choson Dynasty, as introduced in Song Hyon's *Yongjechonghwa*, characters such as *Pankwan*(??), *Chowangshin*(???) , and *So'mae*(??) appeared that were not the original cast. This *So'mae* is a character that appears in various currently performed mask dramas as *So'mu* or *So'mae-kakshi*.

Kuna(??) is an act of exorcising evil spirits in *Narye*. The images of main characters chasing away evil spirits in mask dramas come from the *Kuna* style. The *Kuna* style of *Narye*, and *Ch'wibari* and *Nojang* of mask dramas seem to be closely related. *Nojang*'s mask, which is of a blackish color, looks very wicked. When *Nojang* exits the stage in *Pongsan T'alch'um*, *Mokjung* (another character in the play) ridicules *Nojang* who is likened to such negative images as a cloudy weather, charcoal, large snake, etc. This means that *Nojang* is deemed as some kind of social evil that must be driven away. Thus, the dramatic form of *Ch'wibari*'s driving away *Nojang* corresponds to the *Kuna* style of *Naja*(??) exorcising evil spirits. *Ch'wibari*, wearing a red mask, appears on the stage in a drunken state and lifts a branch of a willow tree above his head. In general, red is the color used to ward off evil. In *Narye* at the end of the Koryo Dynasty, *Ch'oyong*'s image of wearing a red mask with a branch of a peach tree (peach trees are believed to have the power to ward off evil) on his head to drive away plague-causing demons is very similar to that of *Ch'wibari*'s wearing a red mask with a blue willow tree branch (willow trees are also believed to have the power to ward off bad spirits) on his head to chase away *Nojang*, a social evil. The fact that *Ch'wibari* wears a bell on his leg reflects his belief that the sound of the bell would chase away the plague-causing demons. As *Narye* of the end of the Koryo Dynasty shows, the characteristics of *Ch'oyong* and the plague-causing demons, *Kuna* style, *Ch'oyong*'s red mask to ward off evil, and a branch of a peach tree on the head are very similar to the characteristics of *Ch'wibari* and *Nojang*, the dramatic style, *Ch'wibari*'s red mask to ward off evil, and a branch of a willow tree.

12 Obangshinjang'mu (Five Guardians of Five directions) of *Kasan Ogwang'dae* is introduced in the first act. These powerful spirits are responsible for guarding the five directions of east, south, center, west and north, and while dancing, they wear masks of blue, red, yellow, white and black colors to represent the five directions, respectively. The dance is like a formal ritual to ward off evil and to purify the drama stage.

The mask of *Pal'mokjung* in *Pongsan* mask dance is that of a devil image and differs greatly from other masks. The dramatic form of the eight *Mokjungs* appearing on the stage in turn and exiting one after another is similar to that of *Narye's Kuna* style. In the act of *Pal'mokjung*, each *Mokjung*, beginning with the second one, appears on the stage and forces the previous one to leave the stage with a gesture of hitting his face with a branch of a peach tree or a willow tree. Considering that in *Narye* of the court or of the common folk, evil is driven away with a branch of a peach tree following a *Kuna* style, the dramatic form of *Mokjungs* with a devilish mask appearing in turn and chasing away others with a branch of a peach tree or a willow tree corresponds to the *Kuna* style.

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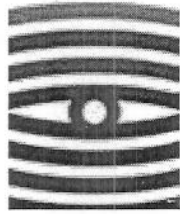
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萬物照應的世界—太古宇宙論

The Echoic of All Thing : The World View of Taigo

杉浦康平 (日本)

Dr. Kohei Sugiura(Japan)

行政院文化建設委員會 指導
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萬物照應的世界——太鼓宇宙論

杉浦康平著／莊伯和譯

前 言

- 中國周代時就有稱為「建鼓」的巨大太鼓出現，這種高三公尺、造形超絕想像的奇物，仍現存於韓國。
這樣的太鼓，其實象徵結合天地的巨樹——「宇宙樹」，造形也意味結合生死、帶來豐穰的「生命樹」。
- 另一方面，日本也在奈良、平安時代，一種稱為「火焰太鼓」的大太鼓，好像突然間出現了，一組成雙，外緣形成火焰寶珠狀，離地七公尺的高處，有日、月輝映。
與建鼓相同，太鼓過剩的裝飾，似不相宜，然而各在一邊的對性設計，兩個火焰太鼓，形成陰陽一對。
成對的火焰太鼓，表示亞洲「二而不二」的大原理。
- 在此，想解讀一下起源於中國的建鼓與現存於日本的火焰太鼓，其造形、意匠所含蘊的深遠象徵性及壯大的宇宙性。

1. 建鼓的奇異姿態

- 先看現存「建鼓」的樣子；建鼓見於孔廟祭禮。這張北京紫禁城建鼓照片，即其原形，由金色柱子支撐，並飾以金色飾物。
- 光緒皇帝「大婚圖」，紫禁城太和殿廊下，建鼓與其他禮樂樂器並列，從放大的右圖，當可看到建鼓的模樣。
- 在看木刻建鼓圖，載於清朝「三才圖會」。一根柱子，不僅支撐太鼓，更貫穿太鼓伸向天，頂點有振翅之「單鳥」。
- 「懸空太鼓」，這是建鼓的最大特徵。
- 把建鼓擴大為上下兩半來看。
太鼓之上，覆蓋著鼓鼓的「天蓋」，伸出四方的曲線脊樑前端，代為「龍首」，從龍口吐出長長垂下的五彩「色絲流蘇」。
鼓面則描繪上昇下降的「渦旋」雙龍。
看右圖下側，柱下的基壇，為四伏獸所構成，即「面朝四方的坐虎」，也有獅或犬的作例，容後說明。
- 韓國演奏「國樂」用的樂器，仍存建鼓。
左為現存的建鼓的模樣，高近三公尺，右為屏風畫所見，比較之下，應可知與台灣、中

國建鼓設計意匠相似之處。

韓國國樂，從中國傳來的許多樂器中，加上獨有的樂器，而形成韓國的「雅樂」。

- 如今韓國仍盛行此類傳承音樂，只可惜建鼓已不見於現在樂曲之演奏上。

這是描繪宮中靈廟前奏樂場面的屏風畫。

右圖為樂器特寫，許多樂器並列圍繞，聳立的建鼓顯得特別大。

- 韓國建鼓也有展翅的「鳥」、伸向四方的「龍首」、垂下的「流蘇」、鼓面的「渦」印、四頭「虎」圍住支柱與太鼓，這些聖獸的姿態與中國是一致的。
- 雖說匠心一致，卻也有些許不同，在台灣、中國，天蓋覆於太鼓之上，在韓國卻成為大小箱子，二層或四層，同時，太鼓銅體為一「瞪眼獸面」所據。
- 建鼓的設計觀念大體是：

「單柱」垂直貫穿大太鼓，出現「鳥」與「龍」、太鼓「渦」、四「虎」，太鼓之上乘載「天蓋（傘）」、「大箱」……。

為了發出強大音響，樂器太鼓似乎不需要這些格外的設計，但建鼓裝飾理由何在？我試著參考幾種研究結果加以推測、解明。

2. 各種建鼓，結合三世界

- 先看看幾幅古人所畫的建鼓圖樣，東晉（五世紀左右）「洛神賦圖卷」上就有幻想式的建鼓姿態，此為宋代模本。

在神韻縹緲的山野背景下，建鼓彷彿浮游於空中。

- 神官或巫師擊鼓，伴著音響，太鼓四方流蘇隨風飄舞，此亦稱「羽葆」。

右圖也表示另一模本的一個場面，鼓手換成巫女；比較右、左二建鼓，棲止於頂上的鳥，推測是白鷺、鶴，覆蓋太鼓的天蓋型態互異，右者天蓋之上有一高台，形成二重構造，四龍（或鳥）頭由此伸向四方。

大太鼓側附小鼓，由支柱下的台座看，右者之形已簡略化，但由左者可判斷來自虎形。

- 回溯漢代畫像石，看得到表演奏樂、雜技團體的畫面，其中建鼓的型態是在太鼓之上裝飾二段及「華蓋」，其上並見立姿大鳥。從太鼓身上並可看到張開的四條桿子上拖著長長華麗的流蘇。

- 從山東滕縣畫象石上，也都可見到從心柱處伸出一、二支舞動的羽葆的特徵，姿態生動，真讓人感受鳥張翅而飛的樣子。

- 飛翔的鳥，柔軟的羽葆，整體看來又像蜿蜒的蛇。

- 再看山東微山縣畫像石上的另一個建鼓，羽葆朝左右舒展，前端現出鳥頭，令人聯想到今日建鼓脊樑的動態。

心柱由猛虎支撐，人面雙虎，頭一身二，柱的先端擴展為半圓狀的「華蓋（花冠）」。

人面雙虎，是充滿精靈力量的獸類吧？！華蓋之上出現一位童子（神）的身影。

- 看次圖，注意人面雙虎頭之處拉出一條水平線，另再建鼓頂端也明顯出現一條水平線。在垂直聳立的建鼓後展開的水平線，暗示三個層次。
最下方是並列的樂人，中間是表演絕技的雜技藝人及精靈神之類。最上段則出現宮殿屋頂，建鼓左右則有男女神、武官列坐。建鼓左右的坐神，如後所述，及統領眾神仙的西王母、東王公。
- 如此一看，貫穿建鼓的中心柱，可解讀為：結合地下、地上界（靈獸、樂人）——空中界（雜技、精靈神）——天上界（眾神）之三世界的中心柱……。這是北京靳之林先生的推定。

3. 建鼓的柱子是天梯、宇宙軸

- 古代中國有稱為「建木」的重要樹木，建鼓的「建」可想與此建木關係深切，然而建木究為何物？
「建木在都廣，眾帝所自上下，日中無影，呼而無響，蓋天地之中也。」（「淮南子」地形訓）
古人相信天梯是連結天與地的梯子，建木更是結合天、地的天梯，建木與天梯的關係，見於幾種記述裡。
- 貫穿建鼓中心的柱，象徵建木，或者可以說天梯即是建木本身。
- 有的畫像石上的建鼓，具備長柱，右為其上部的擴大。
以九層或十層橫線區分地下、地上、天上世界，天梯或宇宙軸形成貫穿其間的柱子。
最下方潛藏一虎，鼓上有對犬，頂上現鳥形，上方坐神應是西王母。
- 所謂宇宙軸的柱子，其象徵性不僅出現於中國，由現存亞洲各地的「天柱」祭禮仍可明顯看到。
左為中國廣西省壯族過年祭禮的「蘆笙柱」。在村落中心點，即「道特」（肚臍）處豎柱，柱上有木雕鳥（雞或鳳凰）坐張翅狀，簡直與建鼓相同，柱中安置水牛角有如張開的二樹枝，柱上並有渦卷線。
右為日本中部長野縣諏訪市七年一次的「御柱祭」，合眾人之力曳木巡行神社，建立迎神支柱。
- 尼泊爾有迎正月的「比斯卡特祭」之建柱活動，同事拖曳兩輛山車迎神，柱之十字部位，吊著象徵龍的兩條長幟。
- 這些柱子皆表示仰望聯繫天與地的神祇之來臨，為了地上生活之和平，為了祈願豐年之來臨，建鼓的柱子也同樣代表神祇憑附之所在。

4. 建鼓之鳥。太鼓之精靈

- 建鼓與鳥。以上所見建鼓圖像，頂上幾乎都出現棲鳥模樣，是鶴、鷺，有時是鳳凰，來

試著了解這些鳥所代表的意義。

- 古代吳越地方民間相傳：「……會稽城的雷門上有大太鼓，鳴聲連洛陽都聽得到，後來因戰爭壞鼓，兩隻白鶴自鼓中飛出，以後太鼓再也發不出聲音來了……。」

- 幾種這類的傳說，總說明白鶴或白鷺是「太鼓的精靈」，「詩經」也描述了用白鷺裝飾太鼓的習俗。

「飾鼓以鷺」說明了展翅白鳥與聲聞遠方的太鼓深深結合的故事。

- 不只建鼓，鳥與太鼓的結合還見於其他的太鼓身上。

左為楚墓出土的「虎座鳥架鼓」。戰國時代早期（BC 5～4）之物，虎、鳥相重，見出與建鼓共通的设计手法。

右為中國南方鑄造、刻於銅鼓上的「翔鷺文」，群鳥構成巡迴太陽光的環形。中國銅鼓出現在西元前七世紀，可溯自春秋時代。

- 古人相信鳥乘太陽空行，所以鳥被視為太陽的標誌，三足鳥之「跋鳥」是其代表。

閃電迅如鳥類飛翔，轟隆隆的雷鳴也被認為出自鳥翼，於是神祇成為擁有鳥一般的身體與羽翼的羽人，或是乘鳥翱翔於天空，巫者也借鳥力而昇降於神靈世界……。

- 鳥的力量成為太鼓的精靈，也與天界的太陽、神力相結合。

建鼓上之飾鳥、貫穿天地的心柱上之立鳥，首先即在顯示這樣的象徵性。這是黃強先生的說法。

5. 建鼓象徵生命樹

- 其次，談談，建鼓中心柱及圍繞其間的聖獸代表的「生命樹」問題。

「生命樹」據說繁榮於宇宙或樂園的中心，開花結實，象徵死而復生的生命力，與永遠的生、不死相結合，圍繞樹木的動物，即表示這種力量的存在。

左為印度的生命樹，亦即宇宙樹，樹上有一對孔雀，右為其擴大圖，孔雀咬蛇，樹下則為捕鹿的對虎，鳥與虎如同建鼓的设计手法。

- 左方也是印度生命樹，不細看不易發現樹冠並棲的十四之鵝，樹下為對牛，枝上有猿。

再注意的話，應知樹幹中央有一眼鏡蛇盤據。

- 接下來這是大家熟悉的扶桑樹，樹上日鳥盤旋，樹下繫馬，樹枝纏絡有如編織，我個人認為這象徵蛇之雌雄交纏。

- 可惜在此無暇細加說明，總之，由此來看，建鼓之中心柱與聖獸之關係，即鳥、虎與蛇（龍）之存在，心柱暗示生命樹。

搖動生姿的建鼓羽葆，有如鳥之飛翔，也想像到蛇的蜿蜒起伏，古人如此記載：「有木其狀如牛，引之有皮，若纓、黃蛇。其葉如羅，其實如欒，其木若藟，其名曰建木。」

（「山海經」海內南經）



如此說明了建木的枝葉特質。




- 建鼓的心柱及與其交纏的聖獸，型態不僅說明見鼓是「宇宙樹」，同時也述說了「生命樹」的故事。

6. 建鼓的虎與鳥，西王母與宇宙山

- 其次，看看代表宇宙軸的建鼓心柱根部的坐「虎」，及虎與柱、天蓋與鳥之關係。其實這些都與西王母信仰或屬宇宙山的崑崙山的意象相結合。
- 正如先前所見由人面雙虎怪獸支撐的建鼓圖，若將視線移至造形整齊、優美的建鼓上方，正有一對神明坐於天界宮殿上，在我們眼前左方的是西王母，右方是東王公。古來已有西王母信仰，東王公是從西王母衍生出來的神祇。
- 咸信西王母是擁有不老不死力量的女神，漢代畫像磚（四川省）可為代表。右為其拓本，中央上部天蓋之下坐著西王母，細看可知她坐在龍、虎台座上。虎前有九尾狐，其下出現捧靈芝草的玉兔，西王母的下方還有類似蟾蜍的怪物跳舞，其左側有三足鳥侍候，都是與西王母關係深厚的神獸、靈長類。兔手持的靈芝草，象徵延千年壽命，蟾蜍象徵再生的不死功能，三足鳥是為西王母覓食的使者，九尾狐是端祥的象徵。
- 西王母坐於高而彎曲的台座，其下是兔與蟾蜍搗不死之藥的場面，羽人手捧仙草之類的東西。西王母研製不死之妙藥，統率仙人即祈願再生的死者。畫像石之中，有描繪西王母、東王公坐在山頂的情形。右圖之左方為東王公，右為西王母，到了漢代，二神相對置於東、西之山上，統領神仙世界。繪有植物文樣的三柱，形成山字形，東王公之下為巨龍、西王母之下為巨虎穿越其間，青龍與白虎即顯示東與西之方位，也配上山形。
- 支撐西王母的是崑崙山，在漢代，確定了西王母與崑崙山結合的關係。在中國，崑崙山自古即是連接天與地之宇宙山。
- 關於它的位置、形狀，諸說紛紜，迄無定論，如「位居西方」、「高一萬一千里（或萬仞）」、「天帝之下都」。崑崙山有三層，每登一層，都可獲得一種神秘的能力，登頂則到達天上世界，可與天帝同在（得以不死）（「淮南子」地形訓）巫師把它看做昇降地的支柱（天梯），能實現不老不死的願望而受人尊崇，所以成了「天地之膺」的靈山。
- 「山海經」西山經記載，被稱為「陸吾」的神祇，「虎身九尾，人面虎爪」，守護崑崙山。由這段記述，想到漢代畫像石刻畫人面虎身的怪異動物、支撐建鼓的雙身虎。

右圖為韓國民畫中的「山神」，彷彿是陸吾的靈獸，陪侍在山神（男神）之旁。

- 「吾」字原做「五」，甲骨文做，表示用交叉木枝做成的器蓋，印秘藏「護」的力量。

「吾」雖做口之上加以，有時也寫成，二重的，強調避邪意味。

「陸吾」的名稱，是否在「地上」加進了「保護」的意味？

- 一方面，古人記述西王母豹尾、虎牙、蓬髮、戴勝、善嘯、穴處，是能帶來天災、死亡的恐怖之神。

這豈非把西方——白虎、秋至冬的死亡意象加在西王母身上的原因？此可參考日本小南一郎、曾布川寬先生的說法。

- 因此，瞭解西王母的關鍵在於：陸吾—虎—崑崙山—三層構造—往天界的梯子—不老不死，

其實這些意象可能與建鼓的垂直方向裝飾有關。

- 豈非支柱下的四虎與陸吾相關聯、太鼓與其上之天蓋裝飾象徵三層的崑崙山？

陸吾所在之周圍是第一層，太鼓鼓身是第二層，天蓋頂相當於頂上之第三層，立於頂上之白鷺，加上前述太鼓精靈的意象，可想是象徵西王母訪東王公所乘的巨鳥。

又，虎、鳥指示崑崙山之山麓與山頂，結合天與地之垂直性。

- 於是，可以這麼想：

建鼓的骨髓就是宇宙軸、生命樹，同時也象徵宇宙山、崑崙山。

7. 祝與敵、朔鼓與應鼓

- 建鼓的叩擊方法有其饒有趣味的特徵，從中國的音樂書籍或韓國的「樂學規範」都可查到它的演奏法。

韓國屏風圖所畫雅樂奏樂之樂器群，踏襲隋唐時代的樂器，東西向一列並陳，因天子南面的原則，知面之右側為東方，左側為西方。

- 建鼓東鄰，放置綠色箱型物，是所謂「祝」之樂器，其東鄰吊置所謂「朔鼓」之太鼓，更東側為編鍾、編磬並陳。

再將視線移至西側，眼前是一建白色伏虎的樂器，稱為「敵」，其西鄰吊著與東側朔鼓全然同形的「應鼓」，其西鄰也安置編鍾與編磬。

- 朔鼓與應鼓是吊置於東西相對的太鼓，朔鼓以太陽為裝飾，應鼓則以月亮為裝飾，這都是韓國的樂器。

- 「祝」是個朝下縮小的箱型樂器，在綠或者說是青色的器表上，描繪山河、或雲紋；置於箱中突出的椎棒，呈T字型。

- T字型椎棒，據說在模仿男根造型。

用椎棒叩打箱底，在擊左右內壁，如此一口氣三擊。

- 「祝」模仿臼與杵的形狀，象徵喚醒山野、自然的果實。
- 「敵」字令人聯想起上述的「陸吾」，即西方白虎，也成為西王母、崑崙山的守護獸。
- 敵背刻畫二十七道齟齬（鋸齒型），演奏者用前端割裂的碎竹棒（櫟）往虎頭一擊，次逆刮背上三回，即二十七乘以三，八十一微音鳴響。
- 也即是說：
白虎、陸吾先一聲吼，然後身震八十一回。
- 配於東方、西方的祝敵，是由不可思議、別無他例的思考方式產生的樂器。

8. 打響大自然的蠢動

- 「樂學規範」記述樂曲的開始部、終結部的演奏法，極具東方特徵。
首先在開始部，一擊裝飾著日輪的朔鼓，表示拂曉日出光明的到來；其次在祝之底一左、右壁擊打發三音，表示大自然開始蠢動，再來是建鼓之一擊，深沉的音響，誘發宇宙山。宇宙軸及生命樹吐出氣來。
接續朔鼓之一擊，應鼓回答，在接著祝與建鼓之連打反覆三回，這是樂曲開始的信號，因為奏樂之響動、騷然，誘出森羅萬象。
- 至於曲末的樣式，先是一擊「敵」的頭部，逆刮背部三回，即虎一吼，震動身體八十一回，緊接建鼓一擊，如此反覆三回。
演奏之最後，白虎與宇宙山鳴動，樂曲歸於終結。
- 振奮大自然的生命力，反應悠久的時光似的音的流動，也關係樂器姿態的思考，今日我們享受音樂，對其構思，展開卻有全然不同的判斷。
我們不應再深刻思考音樂本身應有的狀態及其饒富趣味的構思嗎？
- 建鼓之一擊，應在傳達宇宙山的鳴動，告知充滿天地之氣動訊息。
- 容順便一提，中國樂器本存在所謂「八音」的思考方式。
金、石、絲、竹、匏、土、革、木。由構成大自然的八種素材所製成的樂器之合奏，結合方位、季節之推移、天象……等，傳達了森羅萬象的共鳴。
- 中國的樂器、亞洲的音樂，不只是為了發出聲音、享受的道具和奏樂而已。
而是為顯示大自然的推移，傳達生命本身的蠢動，催促全宇宙的氣之流動，也是發端。

9. 火焰太鼓，陰陽原理的鳴響

- 因時間關係，在此儘快介紹一下日本現存「火焰太鼓」的特異性。
- 火焰太鼓，正如剛才所見的朔鼓與應鼓，也有日、月裝飾，然而成對的巨大太鼓，其構思更加緻密。
- 平安時代之始，推定日本已出現火焰太鼓，其最大特徵是「一對性」。
有著火焰寶珠的輪廓，同形二太鼓左右並列成一組，至其構思之細部，都可見出徹底的

對比性。

火焰太鼓刻畫、打響從大陸渡來日本的舞踊與音樂、「舞樂」的律動，令人感受到從地底湧上來的強而有力的打擊音響。

- 位居「左方」的太鼓，只用於演奏傳自中國及其周邊各國的舞樂，另一「右方」的太鼓，只用於演奏經朝鮮半島渡來的韓國系統之舞樂。
沒有兩者同時擊打的情形。
- 左方太鼓，頂著離地七公尺的光輝「金色日輪」，右方太鼓載著「銀色月輪」。
- 火焰寶珠的內部構想，在圍著太鼓鼓面，左方為雌雄一對的「龍」，右方為雌雄一對的「鳳凰」，都朝天作勢欲飛的型態。
直徑近二公尺的鼓面，描繪強勁的渦卷巴紋。左方為「三巴」，右方為「二巴」，三為陽數，二為陰數。
- 渦卷的方向，左方為「右迴」，右方為「左迴」，右迴與太陽的動向一致。
再看圍著巴紋的顏色，左方三色輪，以「赤色」為外周，右方為「青色」與綠之二色輪。「赤」與「青」象徵「火」與「水」，每一細部仍潛在如此鮮烈之一對性。
- 就以上所見「左方」「右方」兩太鼓特色，加以並列來看：
「左方」—日輪（金）—龍—三巴—赤、三色—順時鐘迴轉……（陽）
「右方」—月輪（銀）—鳳凰—二巴—青、二色—反時鐘迴轉……（陰）
太陽、三、赤、順時鐘迴轉，是「陽」的要素。月、二、青、反時鐘迴轉，是「陰」的要素。
- 這是基於「左方」太鼓為「陽」原理、「右方」太鼓為「陰」原理的考量。
左、右太鼓以明確的「陰陽原理」為裝飾，並表示成對的構想。

10. 寶珠表示金胎不二

- 火焰太鼓的外形，模仿如意寶珠，所謂如意寶珠，能如願生出祈求的寶物，是能除一切苦，具不可思議力量的寶珠。
- 日本或中國密教，從寶珠中追求獨自的象徵性，例如與曼荼羅的關聯。
中國在九世紀產生的兩種曼荼羅，——「胎藏界」曼荼羅及「金剛界」曼荼羅，二曼荼羅在各方面是成對的，孕育對立原理。
也即是二融合為一，顯示大宇宙的真理，是「二為一」或「一為二」，稱為「二而不二」。
一輪全赤的蓮華盛開「胎藏界」。「赤」蓮華表示「太陽」的活動力，也是所謂表示「女性的」之「智慧」之曼荼羅。
另一的「金剛界」，九白輪並陳，此「白」光輪表示「靜寂」的「月」光，被認為是在顯示「男性的」之「實行力」。
二曼荼羅懸於面向本堂的東、西壁，亦即二融為一，顯示大宇宙之真理，是「二為一」，

也是「一爲二」……。此謂之「二而不二」。

- 有的說法是寶珠表示「金胎不二、和合能生」，即金剛界、胎藏界所表示的融合、交融兩個世界，形成寶珠；因「二而不二」而產生寶珠。

另有一說，寶珠上部的三角形，表現了金剛界曼荼羅的「差別智」，下半部的半圓形，表現胎藏界曼荼羅的「平等性智」；再胎藏界的半圓上方與金剛界之三角形重疊、一體化。寶珠之中濃縮、結晶化了兩個曼荼羅的活動。

又，半圓形象徵「水」，三角形表示「火」，所以有火水之相剋形成寶珠的說法。

- 左右一對的火焰太鼓，或一個火焰太鼓的寶珠形之中，多重含入「二而不二」的大原理，成對的火焰太鼓，更見出二而不二思想之深厚結合。

火焰太鼓的沉重打擊音響，伴隨沉沉地鳴，豈不令人感悟到宇宙生成的大原理？

結 語

- 以上，擷取具有獨特構思的亞洲兩大太鼓，說明它的細部，見出豐富的象徵性。

模仿宇宙樹或宇宙山、反應生命樹之華的建鼓。

陰陽原理之一對化，融合二而不二的火焰太鼓。

身負彷彿裝飾過剩的太鼓，但其打擊聲響，令人感知其超越音樂的宇宙原理是涵容古代人們深切的祈願與奔放的想像力，具有魅力的太鼓。

- 吟味中國古代述說音樂本質的話語之餘，也該結束今天的話題了。

「史記」卷二十四·樂書第二：「地氣上騰，天氣下降，陰陽相摩，天地相蕩，鼓之以雷霆，奮之以風雨，動之以四時，煖之以日用，而百物化興焉。如此，則樂者，天地之和也。」

... 國家、社會、個人... 責任、義務... 權利、自由... 法律、道德... 經濟、政治... 文化、教育... 科技、藝術... 環境、生態... 國際、全球... 和平、發展... 合作、共贏... 繁榮、昌盛... 和諧、穩定... 幸福、美好... 希望、未來...

...

... 精神、意志、力量... 勇氣、智慧、才華... 誠實、勤奮、勇敢... 謙遜、禮貌、大方... 愛國、愛民、愛黨... 尊嚴、名譽、信譽... 責任、擔當、奉獻... 理想、信念、追求... 奮鬥、犧牲、奉獻... 團結、協作、互助... 和諧、包容、理解... 尊重、平等、公正... 誠信、守法、守紀... 勤儉、節約、愛惜... 勇敢、堅強、不屈... 樂觀、豁達、開朗... 勇敢、堅強、不屈... 樂觀、豁達、開朗...

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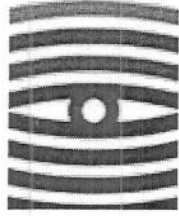
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巴里島表演藝術的創新
Innovation in Balinese Performing Arts

瓦洋·地比亞 (印尼)

Dr. I Wayan Dibia (Indonesia)

行政院文化建設委員會 指導

Directed by the Council for Cultural Affairs,
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國立藝術學院 承辦

Innovation in Balinese Performing Arts

I Wayan Dibia¹

Innovation and Cultural Changes

Art in general is a part of culture, or of the general system of symbolic forms we call culture (Geertz 1983:103). In light of this notion, the changes of culture will have significant impact to the artistic forms within the given culture. This is mainly because the artists will change their arts by way of innovation in response to the changes in their culture. Thus, artistic innovation is an indication, or a reflection of crucial changes of the producing culture.

The variety of performing art forms (music, dance, and theatre) one presently encounters in many places in Indonesia have been constantly innovated² in line with the rapid changes of the Indonesian cultures. In Bali, such innovations are animated by the two conflicting attitudes of the Balinese: on one hand, they are very tied to and fanatic about their traditional art forms; while on the other hand, they are very delighted by new artistic expressions (Dibia 1984:3). Due to this continual innovation many old (classical) art forms have undergone significant changes and numerous new art forms emerged.

While changes in the old art forms of have been addressed by many scholars, the emergence of the new art forms have never been mentioned in any major works on Balinese art and culture, for instance, by deZoete and Spies (1936), Covarrubias (1937), McPhee (1961), Brandon (1967), or Soedarsono (1972). Meanwhile, many of the newly created performing art forms have received positive response from the local audience thus they have become popular. In fact, many of the new performing art forms have been mounted frequently as stage presentations in association with religious Hindu Bali ceremonies and secular events held in Bali as well as outside the island.

The overwhelming interest of the outside world in Balinese arts has always been in the classical and traditional, the sacred, and the ancient. The 1930s dream and fantasy on Balinese arts and culture, created by Western writers and anthropologists (Vickers 1989:105), still so strongly influences the mind and expectations of many visitors who come to Bali. Thus, many scholars tend to ignore the existence of the modern works, and overlook the importance of innovations being made by Balinese artists. Unfortunately, this may give an outsider the wrong impression that "the Balinese only

respect their past tradition” (Setia 1978:4), and furthermore creates an incomplete picture of the development of Balinese arts as if innovation in Balinese arts is stagnant or non-existent. When Covarrubias writes that “Balinese arts changed so rapidly” (1974: 402), he was suggesting not only the art innovations he had encountered in Bali during the 1930s, but also the constant change in Balinese arts and culture.

The innovations of Balinese performing arts during the past thirty years, between the 1970s to the 1990s, manifest in two forms: changing and revitalizing (modernizing) the old art forms, and creating new art forms that suit or reflect the artistic taste and expression of the modern Balinese society. The former form of innovation includes condensing performance duration, enriching performance technique, adjusting performance content, and changing the performance setting of the old arts. Among important forms that have undergone through such innovation process are: shadow puppet play (*Wayang Kulit*), sung dance drama (*Arja*), and masked dance drama (*Topeng*). These art forms have been innovated by making all necessary changes without destroying the forms. The latter form of innovation involves utilizing elements of traditional arts within Balinese culture, or by combining and blending elements of the local cultures with those of foreign traditions. The best art forms resulted from such innovation process are: *Wayang Tantri*, *Arja Cowok*, *Topeng Bondres*, Balinese Pop Songs, and *Adi Merdangga*.

Innovating Traditional Art Forms

In Balinese culture there are numerous traditional art forms that are considered by many as old fashioned, in that they no longer suit the artistic taste or fit the cultural environment of modern Balinese society. In order to help keep these arts alive some changes must be done. When making such changes, as revealed in the innovation process of *Wayang Kulit*, *Arja Dance Drama*, and *Topeng Masked Dance Drama*, Balinese artists intentionally make the following innovative changes.

First, by condensing the performance. In response to the demand that the modern Balinese audience prefer a concise but artistically rich and thrilling art performances, Balinese performing artists condense their performances by cutting the duration of a performance, and eliminating the unnecessary repetitions. The most important factor attributes to such condition is the change in the use of time by the society members. Now that everyone is busier and many work longer hours than in the past; in many villages in Bali, more and more people are involved in new tourist industries, such as,

the production of handicrafts, ranging from woodcarvings to paintings. Such activities consume their leisure time, after a day's work in the rice fields. Since the society members have become more time conscious, they tend to avoid attending late night performances during weekdays since this can prevent them from working the next day. Also, today most Balinese no longer have the luxury of controlling their personal time; most young people attend school and many adults work for the government, or businesses outside their villages. The students are pressured to devote time to their studies; therefore, they have little free time to attend late night performances except on weekends, holidays, or school breaks; children and teenagers have always been one of the largest segments of Balinese audience. Those who work as government officers and administrators, school teachers, drivers, hotel employee, etc., no longer have personal control over their working hours and all of this has significantly affected the way people value their time.

Wayang Kulit, *Arja*, and *Topeng* are art forms that very much depend on the direct support of the public and the community. Therefore, any shift in socio-religious orientation will greatly affect these art forms. With the use of time a concern to all and most people today prefer shorter presentations, and, therefore, there is pressure on the artists to change the length of their performance. The changes may be on the request of the hosting community members to the artists, or from the artists' own responses to changing needs in society.

In response to such social trends, Balinese performing artists must cut the duration of their performance by condensing their dialogue and eliminating repetitive choreographic patterns; they also start and end the performance earlier. As a result, presently *Wayang*, *Arja*, and *Topeng* performances normally take between two to three and a half hours in contrast with the four to five hours (*Arja* performances could go all night)³.

Secondly, by enriching the performance techniques. The modern Balinese now are in favor with complex art forms that utilize elaborate techniques and expressive movements. To satisfy such aesthetic demand, puppeteers, *Arja* and *Topeng* performers alike, have to enrich their performance techniques by utilizing more stylized and elaborate movements, which they have adopted from other art forms. This may in fact be in conflict with the required technique of the respective art forms. Take for instance in *Arja*, today, young artists tend to dance more than sing. This style differs greatly from *Arja's* performance techniques in the old days which were characterized by the use of simple movements integrate with singing.

Inspired by the more intricate dance of the actors, *Arja* musicians have now integrated more complex musical accompaniment. For example, they have begun to accentuate every detail of movement and action of the actor-dancers, and have created more elaborate rhythmic patterns in their music. The musicians now adopt drumming techniques from the modern gamelan *Gong Kebyar* to make more accentuated and dynamic music. With this change, the formerly soft sounding gamelan *Gaguntungan* of *Arja* has become loud and more percussive music.

Many artists have also embellished their costumes. Today, all artists, no matter what their role in the play, wear bright and elaborate costumes. With the improvement of the Balinese economy, dance costumes have become more affordable, it is not surprising that all actor dancers want to have the costumes of the highest quality. In the 1940s, or even in the 1950s, only royal dance troupes would have gilded dance costumes. As such, the costumes no longer reinforce the social status of the characters in the play. Rather, such an elaborate wardrobe suggests the newfound socio-economic status of the performers in their daily lives.

Next, by adjusting dramatic content. Balinese performing artists today no longer interact with the older agriculture society, the majority of whom were illiterate. This older society regarded dramatic performances as both entertainment and as a means of informal education. They attended *Wayang Kulit*, *Arja*, and *Topeng* performances to learn about religious teachings, socio-political issues, legends and tales, and at the same time to be entertained by the jokes and humor provided by the performers. In today's more advanced and educated society, however, people no longer depend on performances for their education but instead they rely on books, newspapers, radio programs, television, and other forms of mass media. With their educational function lessened, performances today serve primarily as entertainment, even though socio-religious messages may still be included⁴.

Today, as Balinese men and women work harder than in previous times, light entertainment is needed to release, or to reduce stress. In order to satisfy such demands of the modern Balinese audience, puppeteers, as well as *Arja*, and *Topeng* artists increase the comic elements of their plays. To create more comic scenes, the actors have changed the portrayal of the servants.

Arja performances normally employ two sets of male servants; the *panasar manis* who was historically portrayed as a serious and dignified servant, and the *panasar buduh* or frivolous and crude servant. Many compare these servants to those employed by *Wayang Kulit*; *Twalen and Merdah* (the dignified servants of the Pandawa family), and *Delem and Sangut* (the crude servants of the Korawa

side). Lately, they have assumed the same dramatic roles, as joke makers, almost like clowns.⁵ The performance of the hero's servants is almost as coarse as those of the villain; thus male servants no longer demonstrate the range of characterization from *alus* to *keras*.

Traditionally, the main comic roles were the clown-servants and buffoons. Today the joke makers have included the coarse kings and others. As a result, the tone of *Arja* performance has changed from a mix of comedy and serious drama to light drama, or even plays dominated by comic scenes.

Finally, by changing performance settings. Since the late 1960s, as the appreciation of the arts has increased, the Balinese began to mount their arts in a more formal manner by using an elevated stage (*panggung*). At first the elevated semi-proscenium stage was used to perform only modern art forms such as *Sendratari* and *Drama Gong*, but by the late 1960s, all traditional forms were mounted on the same type of stage. Consequently the mood of the performances became more formal, the performers and the spectators now occupy different spaces. With this type of space delineation, the artists and audience began to feel uncomfortable because they no longer, like in the old days, share the same level of space ground.

In this modern staging, the audience is divided into divisions not necessarily by social status but by their economic ability. Those who pay the most will be seated in the first-class or VIP seats, and those who pay less will get second – or third class seats. The many that can not afford to buy tickets are allowed to watch from a standing area, which is usually far away or on the side of the main acting area. This arrangement is very different from the traditional arena setting where all members are treated equally, and people from different social sphere occupied the same space.

The use of the modern stage also stimulates competition between the actor-dancers and musicians. In the traditional arena stage, the musicians merged with spectators. However, in the modern setting they are given a special place on stage and have become the focus of audience attention. Knowing that they were being watched the musicians have become more active and demonstrative on stage, almost competing for attention with the actor-dancers. Such a “competition” nevertheless makes the interaction between the musicians and dancers become tighter and develop an exciting performance.

The proscenium stage is considerably larger than the traditional *kalangan*, and the audience is relatively far away from the acting area. Although there may be some people watching right at the

edge of the acting area, in order for performers' voices to reach the audience seated in the back, an amplification system is needed. The rental of equipment adds to the production expenses. Today there are at least three microphones hung above the stage (one center stage, and one on each side of the stage). For better amplification, the actors are now urged to stay close to these areas, limiting their movement on stage, while the amplification system itself changes the natural quality of the voices.

Today changes in dramatic mood are frequently indicated by the changing cues of the modern lighting. In the past these elements would be depicted by singing and spoken dialogue. Although new technology has changed the look of the arts to a more "modern" one, the lighting actually subdues the imaginative impact of the performances. As one sees in *Arja*, the actors now simplify their singing and let new technology convey the changes. In this regard, new technology seems to undermine the inherent "power" of the vocal song.

Creating New Art Forms

Since the early 1970s Balinese artists have created a large number of new performing art forms. Some art forms: *Arja Cowok*, *Wayang Tantri*, and *Topeng Bondres* were created by utilizing elements of the traditional Balinese art forms, and some others: The Balinese Pop Songs and *Adhi Merdangga* were created by mixing, combining, or blending elements of local art forms with those of foreign cultures.

Arja Cowok is a form of musical dance-drama acted entirely by males (*cowok* literally means male). Invented about five years ago, currently this dramatic form is extremely popular in Bali, establishing itself as the "king of stage" on the island. Loved by all in the villages and in the cities, *Arja Cowok* performances always attract a big crowd. Such a response inspired many artists on the island to form troupes of similar types of *Arja*.⁶

Unlike the classical *Arja*, *Arja Cowok* performance contains endless comic scenes. Nearly all-dramatic roles in this art form, servants and principals alike, create spontaneous jokes. While keeping the performance structure of the classical *Arja*, the new *Arja Cowok* explores more jokes and humor by allowing nearly all-dramatic roles to explore comical and farcical acting. Due to the domination humors is this art form, many designated *Arja Cowok* as "satire" of *Arja*.

Topeng Bondres is a masked dance drama dominated by comic characters; buffoons and clowns, and its plays contain endless amount of humor. Created during the early 1980's, the *Topeng Bondres* is the youngest in the *Topeng* genre. It is a more flexible dance-drama in that it does not rely on the formal performance structure of the classical *Topeng*. It tells no literary story and its entire performance is filled with humor. The play may be based on the classical stories derived from Balinese chronicles (*babad*) as a starting point, but then it progresses into spontaneous critic and comments on current issues. Today *Topeng Bondres* is one of the most popular theatrical art forms on the island. The Balinese usually perform *Topeng Bondres* to highlight both religious and non-religious events. To enrich their private family rituals, such as weddings, tooth filling and other rites of passage, *Topeng Bondres* may be staged in private house compound. When it is performed in association with secular events, such as, the reception of national holiday days, and other special events, *Topeng Bondres* may be mounted in community halls. *Topeng Bondres* was acted mainly by males, but since five years ago it has begun to include females to play comic characters from Arja dance drama.

Wayang Tantri is a new genre in Balinese shadow theatre. It is called *Wayang Tantri* since this theatrical form enacts stories about animal and fables known as *Tantri*. The first *Wayang Tantri* was created by I Made Persib in the early 1980's for his final project to complete his under-graduate study at The Indonesian Dance Academy, or ASTI, in Denpasar. In the 1980's a shadow puppet master of Sukawati village, I Wayan Wija, created an innovative *Wayang Tantri*. The form currently popular in Bali is that of Wija.

The performance technique of *Wayang Tantri* is not too far different from that of the classical Balinese shadow theatres, *Wayang Kulit Parwa* and *Ramayana*. Like its predecessor, *Wayang Tantri* follows a similar dramatic structure. Its main difference is the use of various kinds of mythical animal characters, and the performance is accompanied by the five tone-*pelog* gamelan *batel*.

The chart below shows the innovation process of the three new art forms: from the common *Wayang Kulit Parwa* (Mahabharata) into *Wayang Tantri*, from the classical *Arja* into *Arja Cowok*, and from the classical *Topeng* into *Topeng Bondres*. Elements of the old art forms, as their sources, may be changed or enriched throughout the process of the innovation. The end result, the new art forms still keep the essence of the original art forms.

The Sources	Innovation Process	The End Result
Wayang Kulit Parwa	by changing performance elements (story).	Wayang Tantri
Arja	by changing performers and dramatic content.	Arja Cowok
Topeng	by changing dramatic content, performance elements, and techniques.	Topeng Bondres

New approaches to create new art forms have been by mixing and blending elements of traditional art forms with those of other Indonesian and foreign cultures. Two most important new art forms for demonstrating such innovation are The Balinese Pop Song and *Adhi Merdangga*.

The Balinese Pop Song is essentially an integration of Indonesian *Kroncong* and Balinese Pentatonic songs. Such integration is noticeable in the songs and their musical accompaniment, its orchestration, musical moods, and its singing technique.

The 1960s marked the beginning of the Balinese Popular Song as an art forms. It was first appeared among pop singers and musicians in two main cities of Bali, Denpasar and Singaraja. The group who has been credited, as pioneering this new form was Putra Dewata Band directed by I Gusti Made Cakra. During the next decades, the Balinese Pop Song has received great popularity and greater stimulus with the installation of the government-run-television station (TVRI) in Denpasar. Since the 1990s the Balinese Pop Song has always been featured at the Annual Bali Arts Festival. Lately, the musical accompaniment of the Balinese Pop Song include some Western instruments, such as snare drums, electric guitars, violins, organs, tambourines, along with gamelan instruments (gangsa metallophones, cymbals, gongs, and bamboo flutes). Today, a large number of cassette recordings and compact discs of the Balinese Pop Song have been released on the market.

Adhi Mredangga is a type of traditional marching band using mostly percussion instruments especially drums (*adhi* means large, and *mredangga* signifies drums). This new form was conceived as a secular form, to enrich secular events, such as for the opening ceremonies of the Southeast Asian Games (sports competition) or the Annual Bali Arts Festival. It was created by mixing musical ideas and technique borrowed from Western marching bands but using traditional Balinese *Balaganjur* music. Performed by no less than 100 musicians, along with about thirty dancers, *Adhi Merdangga*

has a form of a colossal *Balaganjur*.⁷ During the performance, the traditional two-part or three-part interlocking techniques are still maintained in conjunction with some musical idioms of the Western marching band. Since most of these instruments are fixed in the five-tone *pelog* scale, the pieces played in this new musical form are mainly *pelog* music. In order to add the attraction of its performance, *Adhi Merdangga* involves dancing performed by mixed of male and female dancers.

Adhi Merdangga was created in 1984 for the opening ceremony of the fifth Bali Arts Festival. The idea was conceived by I Made Bandem, the former Director of The State College of Indonesian Arts, or *Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia* (STSI) Denpasar, and the music was composed by the faculty members of STSI Denpasar.

The creation of *Adhi Merdangga* has inspired artists in many villages. Currently there are no less than four groups of *Adhi Merdangga* groups who regularly perform this traditional marching band at many special events held at big hotels on the island.

The chart below illustrates the innovation process of the Balinese Pop Song and *Adhi Merdangga*. The sources may be a mix of both Balinese and non-Balinese cultural elements. The process of the innovation may involve combining, integrating, cut and pasting, and blending. The end results are new art works with new cultural identity.

The Source	Innovation Process	The End Result
Balinese Traditional Songs, Indonesian <i>Kroncong</i> .	by combining musical ideas, and performance elements.	The Balinese Pop Song
Balinese <i>Balaganjur</i> , Modern Marching Band.	by combining musical ideas, performance technique.	Adhi Merdangga

Participants and Motivation

Artistic innovation in Bali is practiced by professional and amateur performing artists in all areas, involving young and old artists in the villages and the cities. Creative musicians, dancers, actors,

choreographers, composers, and puppeteers, all maximize their skills and talents to explore innovation within their arts and culture.

Government sponsored art festivals and competitions held in Bali since mid 1970s have some positive impact on the local artists to produce more innovative art works. Significant numbers of new gamelan music and dance compositions, or theatre works were created during such festivals. The Annual Bali Arts Festival or *Pesta Kesenian Bali*, The Nusa Dua Festival, All Bali *Arja*, *Gong Kebyar*, *Topeng*, and *Wayang Kulit* Competitions are among important events that have strongly stimulated artistic innovation in Bali, both by modernizing traditional art forms and by creating or producing new art works. Similar events hosted by non-government foundation, such as, Walter Spies Foundation, Arti Foundation, also provides venues for new artistic innovations in different areas of Balinese performing arts.

The initiators of the recent artistic innovation, however, have always been young artists who have an affiliation with formal art institutions like The High School of Arts, *Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan Indonesia* (SMKI) Bali and STSI Denpasar; or with the informal art organizations like village clubs (*sekaa*) or private groups (*sanggar*). As one sees in the creation of *Wayang Tantri*, *Arja Cowok*, etc., these new art forms were creation of the graduates of STSI Denpasar. Students and teachers of SMKI Bali have also produced some new *Kebyar* music and dances. Lately some private art organizations, such as, *Sanggar Warini* and *Sanggar Printing Mas* of Denpasar city, *Sanggar Puri Saraswati* of Singapadu and *Sanggar Cudamani* of Pangosekan village of Gianyar, have also produced some exciting new music and dance creations.

The artistic innovations are intended to enrich the traditional art forms and to keep the traditional cultures alive amidst the increasing modernization of Bali. There is a word “*med*” in the Balinese language, which signifies ‘being bored’. Audience and artists in Bali become bored quickly when they are repeatedly exposed to similar performances for long period of time.

As mentioned earlier, all kinds of adjustments are made to the traditional art forms to avoid this bored feeling, and to put something new and fresh into their art. These innovations concern not only the artistic concepts but perhaps also their physical form. All of these are meant not to ruin the traditional arts, but rather to revitalize by giving a new look to the traditional forms so that they will still attractive to the modern Balinese audience. The newly created art forms, after having been accepted by the community, are respected along with the older art forms. In short, the innovation

intends not to abandon but rather to enrich the traditional cultures. This has been the result of conscious efforts made on the part of the local artists, both as individuals and groups, who intend to keep their arts alive amidst the increasingly powerful waves of modernization in their society.

Conclusion

Artistic innovations in Balinese performing arts, also in other places in Indonesia, are signals of changes of the local culture. This has been the result of the modernization process in the country, along with the increasingly cultural contacts among the ethnic groups in Indonesia, and between the Indonesians with the outside world.

In response to, and as reflection of the changes in many aspects of their culture, during the last thirty years, Balinese artists have made significant innovations their performing arts. These innovations were carried by renewing the traditional art forms and by producing new art creations. In renewing their traditional arts, Balinese performing artists condense their performances, incorporate more comic scenes into the play, enrich their performance techniques (including change the performers), and adapt the play to the modern staging. To produce new creations Balinese artists utilize and incorporate elements of the local and foreign cultures. Important to note is that all of these artistic innovations are intended not to abandon but rather to enrich the traditional Balinese cultures.

Notes

- 1 Faculty of dance, and currently the director of The State College of Indonesian Arts of Denpasar.
- 2 This terms is used to refer to a creative movement in changing and renewing the old (classical) art forms in order to suit the artistic need of the contemporary audience.
- 3 An attempt to condense traditional performing art forms was first initiated in 1975 during All Balinese Arja Festival. At that time the organizing committee, composed of experts, cultural policy makers, and government officials, allowed a maximum of five hours for each Arja group to complete its play. Since 1979, all performing art forms featured during the Annual Bali Arts Festival were allowed at the most three hours to complete the performance.

- 4 Actually, the trend toward light, amusing performances, or what Brandon calls “escape entertainment” (Brandon 1967: 253), began to prevail in the mid 1960s following the 1965 attempted Communist Coup, the *Gerakan 30 September P.K.I.*, in Jakarta. As the society began to recover from this national tragedy, its members began to look for light art entertainment. It was because of this need, made the modern Drama Gong received such response and enthusiasm from the local public.
- 5 Arja dancers in the Gianyar district told me that a distinction between these servant types gradually changed after the famous Panasar Manis duo from Singapadu stopped performing with the death of I Wayan Griya in 1962 and the retirement of I Made Kredek. When these dancers were still active, they avoided crude remarks and were skilled in intellectual metaphors, riddles and puns. Spectators made their own interpretations based on the hidden meanings of the jokes. Their controlled actions reinforced the dignity of their master, the *mantri manis*.
- 6 Today, there are four groups of *Arja Cowok*, all in South Central Bali, that continue to actively perform for public. One of the best *Arja Cowok* group belong to the *Printing Mas* dance group of the Denpasar city.
- 7 The *Adhi Merdangga* ensemble is composed of no less than 50 different sizes of Balinese drums (*keendang*), taken from different Balinese gamelan ensembles; about 8 bamboo flutes (*suling*), 4 double-reed trumpets (*pleret*), 16 knobbed gongs (8 *reyong*, 4 *ponggarang*, 1 *kajar*, and 1 *tauu-tauu*), 16 sets of large cymbals (*ceng-ceng kopyak*), a pair of large gongs, a *kempul*, and a flat gong (*babende*).

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Biography

I Wayan Dibia, born in Singapadu village of Gianyar, is a distinguished performer of classical Balinese dances, choreographer and scholar specializing in Balinese performing arts. Mr. Dibia received a SST (Seniman Sarjana Tari) degree from the National Dance Academy of Indonesia (ASTI) Yogyakarta in 1975, a Master of Arts degree in dance (1984) and a Ph.D. in Interdisciplinary Studies in Southeast Asian Performing Arts (1992) from University of California, Los Angeles under the grant of the Asian Cultural Council and the Fulbright-Hays. Beginning the 1970s, Mr. Dibia started to experiment with elements of traditional Balinese arts to create new works for contemporary Balinese audience. His innovative art works have gained high recognition and have been featured in many important events in Indonesia and overseas. His most recent major creations include a colossal Legong "Sunda Upasunda" (1998), Body Tjak; The Celebration, a collaboration with Keith Terry, USA (1999), a colossal dance theatre Ram-wana (1999), and Nyurya Sewana or the Sun Rise of the 2000, a collaboration with Nyoman Erawan and Kadek Suardana (2000). Currently Mr. Dibia is the Director of The State College of Indonesian Arts, Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia (STSI) in Denpasar-Bali.

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巴厘島表演藝術的創新
Innovation in Balinese Performing Arts

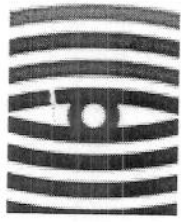
/瓦洋·地比亞 (印尼) Dr. I Wayan Dibia (Indonesia)

姓名 Name :

國籍 Nationality :

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論合作—從藝術文化合作的經驗談起

A Story of Arts Collaboration

拉哈于·蘇巴格(印尼)

Dr. Rahayu Supanggah (Indonesia)

行政院文化建設委員會 指導
Directed by the Council for Cultural Affairs,
The Executive Yuan, R.O.C.

國立傳統藝術中心籌備處 主辦
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A Story of Arts Collaboration

Dr. Rahayu Supanggah

Many artists will tell you that globalisation is no longer an interesting issue in their field of work. Issues of East and West, North and South, and multi-culturalism are considered finished, no longer a problem, or even out of date, stale, and so on, particularly among modernists. However, putting aside this opinion, today projects of art collaboration, in various form and on various scales, are still occurring, and even becoming more populer.

A number of comments and questions can arise from these activities, including questions about the motivation, aims, work, methods, forms, benefits, and results of these collaboration.

Collaboration involves at least two elements: art and/ or the artist. The collaboration of two (or more) arts (from different cultures) has been happening for hundreds or even thousand of years, in a variety of formats or scales. This form of collaboration is evident from the existence of a number of art forms or artists which show reciprocal influence and inspiration, whether in their physical form, ideas, idioms or work methods. This is a very common and natural occurrence in the field of the arts, and a few of them have even managed to display the style or era of a particular art genre. This kind of collaboration is usually initiated by an artist. Although this kind of event may involve many artists from various different cultural styles, their role is more as a performer or interpreter.

Multiculture

Up to the present time, the mayority of collaboration between artists from different cultures or countries have been between Western artists (from Europe, Australia or America) and artists from the East, with more orientation towards the West. Beginning in the 1970s, there was even a feeling of obligation or pride for an Indonesian group of artists to include a foreigner in their group, without much concern as to the degree of quality or role played by this foreigner. This involvement of foreigners may be interpreted as an international level of "recognition" for a group of artists, in addition to the fact that their was a general feeling of inferiority among local artists compared with Western art (or artists).

Collaboration is the meeting of two or more arts/ artists from different countries, nations or cultures, who work together to create a product : a work of art. Duties, obligations and authority are divided between them quite clearly, with a (hopefully) relatively equal portion of rights and responsibility. However, there is still the possibility that - for various reasons and motives - the collaboration subsequently becomes a “free ride” for an artist who has less “authority” (due to various factors, including ability) and facilities than the other artist(s) involved in the collaboration. Due to advances in transportation and communication technology, the institution of collaboration is becoming increasingly fruitful, both between artists and between different countries, whether large or small, formal or informal, long lasting or just for a short time, serious or merely “diplomatic”, or even just as a courtesy. The format, scale, nature, and duration of a collaboration is highly varied.

At the present time, when the meaning of collaboration is so promising and of such importance in a global context, it is the artistic collaboration of a “less than” serious nature which are occurring more frequently, particularly from the point of view of customs, work ethics and/ or the quality of the artistic product. If we observe the intentions, mission, or motivation, these collaborations can in fact be considered serious : if we consider their process, mission, or content, from those which contain a combination of appreciation and cultural diplomacy to those with a message of political diplomacy, humanity, and peace between nations. For this, sufficient energy, funds, and facilities are often needed.

One form of art collaboration which is not of a serious nature (if we consider its artistic value) but very often takes place is collaboration which takes place at seasonal (international) forums or festivals. Many artists who meet for the first time are keen to collaborate, while others already hope before they leave home that they will have the chance to collaborate with their partners at the festival.

Collaborations which take place based on “love at first sight” which often occur at these kinds of festivals, usually only result in a collaboration which is put together in any old way-or a collaboration of skin contact. Skin contact can produce a variety of effects : cultural erection or excitement, a feeling of (artistic) arousal, and may even end up in the “bedroom” (at least in the mind or imagination of the collaborator, although not for the audience or listener). This skin contact may also have the effect of tickling, itching, create a musty smell, or even cause a wound to those touching.

This kind of collaboration is usually carried out for between three days and one week, or up to one month, with insufficient preparation and a lack of concept. Sometimes collaboration takes place with a kind of *jam session* which relies more on practical artistic ability of the moment, or

improvisational ability. The concept or idealism is much further down the list. In practice, the members of the collaboration team are more preoccupied with matters of friction of artistic elements, of a more technical nature. For example, in the music they may wrestle with problems of scale or pitch, rhythm, choice of form, style, and so on.

Mahabharata and Lear

From the above phenomenon, it is not surprising then that many art observers are (almost always) prejudiced in thinking that every art collaboration only produces a work which is raw, incomplete, a mixture, or mozaic, or something else with negative connotations. First of all, put aside this prejudice, and I would like to talk a little about my personal experience, about two of my dozens of involvements in art collaborations. Put aside also the result : whether good or bad, my involvement in these two collaborations means something to me personally.

The two collaborations I am talking about are a production of the MAHABHARATA directed by Peter Brook, and a production LEAR, directed by the young director, Ong Keng Sen. It is interesting to me that the two of them had a number of similarities : I had to work on a large-scale, multi-cultural art production, cross over to a different culture, and make careful preparations over a relatively long period of time. On one hand, Peter Brook is a senior “western” director, an Englishman who lives and works in Paris, who was producing a version of the Mahabharata, an “Asian” epic, and on the other hand, Ong Keng Sen is a young Asian director who is on his way up, a Chinese living in Singapore, who was working on a production of (King) Lear, a great work by the western playwright, Shakespeare. The Mahabharata involved artists from more than 20 countries, and Ong Keng Sen involved artists from more than 10 countries in his production . Peter Brook produced his work over a period of more than 5 (five) years, while Ong Keng Sen took more than 3 (three) years for his production of LEAR.

I do not know whether systems and work methods in artistic activities can be classified as Eastern or Western, but based on my experience as an artist who often works with both western and eastern artists, my impression working with Peter Brook who is a westerner, was that there was an eastern work atmosphere or elements of the east, where as my impression working with Keng Sen was of a western feel or atmosphere.

Many observers make comparisons or connections between these two works. They are both considered to be phenomenal works of art, and both were performed on a tour to different countries all over the world, and were proclaimed a "success". Both works were much talked about and greeted with great acclaim - although of course not without criticism : both good and bad. Some were of the opinion that LEAR was a shadow or miniature of the MAHABHARATA, although Keng Sen did not agree with this. I can confirm this, especially if we look at the form which was produced.

Obstacles

Collaboration is not a simple matter. Because in essence, collaboration is a forum of dialogue between two or more people and cultures, to "make" them "one". The most important element, therefore, which is also the main problem, of these activities, is communication, language communication, artistic communication, cultural communication, and personal communication. People say that art (read : music) is a universal language, so it is assumed there will not be a communication problem between artists/ musicians, but in reality this opinion is not always true. Music or art is a means of non-verbal communication, so that (conventional) language problems should be avoidable. However, on the other hand, music (art) is not only a means of pure communication, so that its form of expression is also non-representative (invisible), full of symbols, and sometimes even abstract and individual, although sometimes it is also difficult to extricate oneself from certain frames : cultural, environmental, periodic, and functional frames, and so on. As such, the form of communication here may be multi-dimensional, with multiple interpretations and meanings.

The spirit or essence of art (including music) is basically implicit in its form of expression through the media of its elements and vocabulary. As in music, for example, there are elements of orchestration/ instrumentation, compositional forms, musical organization, scale, rhythm, dynamics, and use of musical vocabulary such as playing patterns and techniques, which are spread out in dimensions of time and space. In other words, the art of music is about the use of elements, vocabulary and techniques as a tool to express (and at the same time as a means of understanding) the content or essence : art and the artist.

This tool is used in a great variety of ways, among different ethnic groups, cultures, and even individual artists in different contexts of time and space.

In memortary collaborations, - as in the case of love at first sight -, the communication signals which are used, or received, are still on the level of an understanding of material and structural elements, vocabulary, and the wealth of technique of each participant. Whereas the meaning and spirit contained within each partner of the collaboration is not sufficiently understood. The realization of this often falls into the trap of a communication of elements (material, structure, vocabulary or technique) which are considered to be "the same" or similar. In the world of music, for example, if one person speaks through the musical scale, his or her work partner usually also responds through the musical scale, rhythm is responded to with rhythm, meter with meter, and so on. The result is that one, two or all participants of the collaboration often experience problems of adaptation, which can increase to a level of force or violation. It is not uncommon, due to a high level of enthusiasm, and willingness to make sacrifices, for a participant to be "willing" to throw off his own identity, and subsequently to melt and become or make something new : the child of a "marriage" or "breeding" or "hybrid" or illegitimate child or whatever the form, which is born out of a brief unification based on an inadequate (mutual) understanding.

Apart from the (aesthetical) quality of the result - of which we cannot expect much from this kind of collaboration -, the feelings of those involved in this kind of work may be varied : happy, surprised, dissapointed, painful, useful, pointless, annoyed, and so on. In my experience, the more parties involved, the more complex the problems which arise. Likewise, the higher the level of artistic mastery of the participants involved in the collaboration, the more time needed for the process of collaboration, and at times, it is difficult to attain a good collaboration. It is the human factor which ultimately plays a larger role in determining whether or not a collaboration is successful.

Man in culture

The problem of collaboration is to a large degree determined by the human factor of the participants. Man in culture. Man and his values determine both attitudes and behaviour in day to day life as well as in artistic activities. For this reason, it is a good idea if each member of a collaboration first understands the human nature of his or her partner(s). They must be open with one another and willing to understand each other (through learning and giving), and show mutual respect, once again , both as human beings and cultural beings.

In the previous illustration, I mentioned the obstacles which often occur in collaborations because of a lack of “willingness” to show mutual understanding, particularly among “master” artists, who are usually not so generous in nature. We are aware of the high degree of individuality (both in their works and personalities) of artists, so it is not surprising that artists - especially famous artists or super stars - are often accused of being egoistic, “difficult” to manage, and often demanding preferential treatment.

It is this egoism or selfishness, desire to be treated as a star, which disturbs the process of collaboration. This is even more so if accompanied by excessive feelings of pride or ethnic, national or artistic superiority, and it will be much harder to achieve the process of becoming open with one another, understanding, respecting and accepting one another, let alone making sacrifices.

Exploration

In order to achieve this reciprocal attitude, a number of meetings of various forms are necessary : dialogue, discussions, rehearsals, jam sessions, workshops, and seminars, accompanied by clear explanations and argumentations, so as to create an understanding that in fact there are a million ways in which to communicate something through art. As such, the dialogue will proceed naturally, without suspicion of intentions to control or dominate the other party.

The dialogue which takes place is a communication of content, no longer merely a communication of elements. Thus, in an art collaboration, language is no longer a major obstacle. As also occurs during informal discussions, each participant in the collaboration may communicate using one element or idiom, to which the other participants may respond using another element or idiom which is not necessarily parallel or the same. Scale may be responded to with rhythmic patterns, dynamics with timbre, and so on. Participants may take turns to act as inspirers or initiators, while the others respond with comments and questions or (artistic) criticisms.

In my experience during the preparations for the mahabharata and Lear, I saw that both directors allocated a large amount of time to “research”, workshops and explorations. Each participant was given the opportunity to share their experiences, make interpretations, explorations and or ideas for a certain scene, “event”, or theme : murder, love, blindness, betrayal, and so on, through the use of symbols, idioms, and various other elements, including material and properties. Likewise, discussions, suggestions, or criticisms were always offered at the end of almost every workshop or performance.

Discussions were not only about artistic aspects, but also problems regarding the company "family". During the collaboration project, all participants were a part of one family.

It is understandable, of course, that on the stage, due to the story line, theme, interpretation, and or because of an artist's capacity, a person may become the star or primadonna. However, off the stage, and also during the compositional process, each artist involved should work in the spirit of the equality of a family. This is easy to say but not so easy to carry out. Even in the life of one family, there may be a child who is naughty, spoilt, irritating, and so on. Ultimately, individual personalities play a large part in determining the process of an artistic journey.

In the production of *Lear*, there were at least two considerations which determined the form of the work, a "modern contemporary" work which "still" used forms of expression from "traditional" arts of each participating artists. The *noh* actors still used their methods of *noh* expression, dancers/singers from Beijing opera used Beijing opera traditions, choreography in the style of *Boy* was coloured by the Minangkabau art of self-defence, music used expression of javanese gamelan and Minang tradition, and so on, without pretensions to search for a new form resulting from a combination or mixture of a number of styles of artistic expression.

The first consideration was the intention, if not the obsession, of the producer to create a new Asian work of art (theatre). If we talk about modern or contemporary art, the reconciliation is usually western oriented. The fact that there are other ways of observing and expressing modern art, besides western methods, which deserve to be taken into consideration in the field of modern art, should be given more attention. The second consideration was based on the intention to cultivate a feeling of mutual respect and appreciation for group (ethnic, national) expression, and individual expression, (particularly) from Asia, which is highly diverse and has great potential, both artistically and from the values contained within it.

The *Mahabharata* and *Lear* are just two of many collaborations which are in the process and still have a long way to go. They offer an alternative form to a number of other collaborations which have taken place. Hopefully, with more collaborations taking place, an increased level of understanding and mutual respect will be cultivated. As such, it is hoped that through art, there will be increased peace throughout the world.

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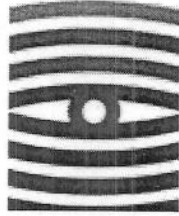
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從 ATPA 亞洲傳統表演藝術交流經驗談起——
日本與亞洲諸國之提攜
Co-operation between Japan and Asian countries —
from my experiences of ATPA

德丸吉彦 (日本)

Dr. Yosihiko Tokumaru (Japan)

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Co-operation between Japan and Asian countries— from my experiences of ATPA

Dr. Yosihiko Tokumaru

First of all, I would like to congratulate the opening of Asia-Pacific Traditional Arts Forum in 2000. It is an appropriate enterprise to enhance the mutual understanding between Asian-Pacific peoples. This forum will be remembered as the most important springboard for moving towards a new tendency: co-habitation of globalisation and localisation of arts.

The invitation to this forum reminded me of my experiences in organising various international meetings in Japan. Now, in retrospect, I will be able to re-evaluate what we have done in this field. I have chosen only one project, the ATPA project, to be re-examined.

In 1974, the Japan Foundation (a semi-governmental organisation of Japan) embarked upon an ambitious long-term project entitled “Asian Traditional Performing Arts” (abbreviated as ATPA). The Foundation convened three musicologists as the primary supervisors. They were the late Professor KOIZUMI Fumio (Tokyo University of Fine Arts and Music), Professor YAMAGUTI Osamu (presently, Osaka University) and myself. The purpose of the ATPA project was to construct a denser network of performing arts and their studies among Asian peoples. In the process of preparations, we coined the motto “Asians observing and being observed by Asians.” And in the process of editing documentations, I myself coined a new word “fieldback” which I explain later.

Both the Foundation and the supervisors agreed on the following basic principles:

- 1) project would not simply be a forum for the organisation of festivals;
- 2) instead, it would focus on three aspects, namely, field work, seminars, and public performances, and publications;
- 3) each of these aspects would be the focal point of activities for a year and a cycle of three years would comprise one unit; and
- 4) the project would ideally continue for the duration of five units.

Considering the amount of money and human resources (many graduate students working for this project are now important professors of musicology in Japanese universities) at our disposal, we selected a suitable theme for each unit.

The 1st unit (1976): the theme was musical instruments; and the participating countries were Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Thailand.

The 2nd unit (1978): sung music or voices; Burma, India, Iran, Japan, and Mongolia.

The 3rd unit (1981): the dance and drama of south Asia; India and Nepal.

The 4th unit (1984): itinerant performers; India, Japan, Korea, and Thailand.

The last and 5th unit (1987): religion and music; China, Japan, Pakistan and Turkey.

As pointed out above, each of the ATPA units had three steps: 1) preparation in terms of field works; 2) implementation of the seminars and concerts; and 3) publications of documentations in terms of books (in English), LP records, and 16 mm films. Some LP records have been recently converted into CDs and films into videos (JVC series of world music has utilised a lot of the ATPA films).

After the publication of the 1st unit, several ethnomusicologists outside Asia, especially in USA, started to criticise our project. They interpreted this project as a Japanese invasion into Asian cultures or exploitations of Asian cultures by Japanese musicologists (ethnomusicologists). These were, however, by no means our intentions.

What we intended can be summarised in the following aspects:

- 1) the neglecting of distinctions between peripheral and centric art forms;
- 2) the importance of mutual influences between performers from different cultures;
- 3) the importance of relationships between performers and audiences, and
- 4) the importance of documentation.

We invited performing groups for their art, not as representatives of the country concerned. We tended to invite smaller and lesser-known groups rather than bigger and well observed groups. Then, we came to believe that in order to deconstruct the logic that has separated the centric from the peripheral and understand the musicality of human beings as a whole, we would have to pay more attention to the so-called peripheral styles.

For performers, the other significant groups, namely those who may affect their socio-musical behaviours, are very frequently other performers with whom they have share the same stage. In the 1st unit, Sundanese (Indonesia) and Okinawan musicians found similarities with each other. Thus they changed costumes and instruments, then taught each other. This friendship is still continuing. Both Sunda and Okinawa produce their own popular musics, sharing, however, common features.

Many groups of traditional musics are suffering the sense of isolation from the external world. I found that it was also true for the Japanese traditional musicians. A living national treasure of Japan, a bunraku musician, said to me. "In the USA, Europe and China our tickets sell out quickly, but not so in Japan. And foreign audience pays more attention to our music than the Japanese do. When we perform abroad, we can be confident that we are maintaining a valuable tradition and that our direction is right." I observed in Asian musicians invited to the ATPA the same feeling as that of bunraku musicians. The governments and peoples frequently began to respect traditional musicians, only by the fact that they were invited to the ATPA. In other words, musicians contact with foreign audiences worked as positive catalysts for the promotion of their arts in their home countries.

The reason why we have endeavoured to publish a documentation of the ATPA activities is closed connected to our desire to return the results of our research to the performers who collaborated in the project. It was in 1976 that I coined the word "fieldback". Please do not confuse this word with feedback, a term in cybernetics. Fieldback is the act of returning musicological results (in terms of articles, musical transcriptions, recording and filming etc) to the original field.

The two kenya musicians from Borneo (Malaysia), who participated in the 1st ATPA in 1976, became national figures after the documentation was published. Their music is now broadcast not only in Borneo but also in the capital of Malaysia. The Baul musician from Bengal (India) (who participated in the 2nd ATPA in 1978), whom I saw again in 1988 in the USA, has utilised the ATPA documentation in order to indicate its relation to his art. However, he did not cling to the 1978 style and instrumentarium which we documented. In 1987 I met young Mongolian musicians in the USA whom I found were pupils of the 2nd ATPA musicians. According to these young musicians, their teachers are labelled in Mongolia "musicians of the 1978 Tokyo congress" or "musicians of 'the red book'" (due to the red cover of the report) and respected for their activities in Japan.

The importance of documentation is increasing in the contemporary situation. There are many ethnic minorities who have no longer sufficient numbers of performers to maintain their traditional musics. There must be many musical styles that will be easily forgotten.

The ATPA projects have sometimes resulted in revitalising and safeguarding the traditions, mainly thanks to the idea of fieldback and its results as documentation. Later, however, I have modified and broadened the concept of fieldback. I have treated any efforts for securing music traditions as a sort of fieldback.

More generally speaking, the concept of fieldback and the possibility of making fieldback imply the basic idea that there is no musical style that belongs only to one social group or to one people. Japanese music is not the exclusive property of the Japanese people. Similarly, Chinese music is not only for the Chinese people.

Recently, the Japan Foundation and we made a strong effort for safeguarding Vietnamese court music traditions. We helped the State University of Hue (central Vietnam) to open a new course for teaching Vietnamese court music. It was inaugurated in 1996 and eleven students graduated this summer. All the necessary expenses for hiring teachers, purchasing musical instruments, and stipend for students were allocated from the budget of the Japan Foundation Asian Center.

From this year on, this course is run, not by the Japan Foundation, but by the Ministry of Education and Training of Vietnam. Thus, the court music of Vietnam will be safeguarded not only by video documentation but also by the living young musicians.

We consider this project as a natural consequence of the ATPA project.

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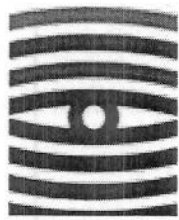
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日本現代化下“傳統演劇”的矛盾再生物：
以‘能劇’為例

The Paradoxical Rebirth of ‘Traditional Theater
傳統演劇’ Through Modernization of Japan:
The Case of the ‘Noh-Play’

青木孝夫 (日本)

Dr. Takao Aoki (Japan)

行政院文化建設委員會 指導

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The Paradoxical Rebirth of 'Traditional Theater 傳統演劇' Through Modernization of Japan: The Case of the 'Noh-Play'

Dr. Takao Aoki

Introduction

Japan's representative traditional theaters are Noh-play, Kabuki, and Bunraku puppet-theater. According to some dictionaries and encyclopedias, we may also include Bu-gaku and Gagaku. These traditional stage performances, which have a long history, are cherished as national arts treasures.

We tend to think that all the elements of these traditional theaters - the repertoire, the stage, and the way of enactment and performance style, including costumes and masks - have been preserved without any major changes from their birth to present days; thus their status as 'traditional' theater. However, strikingly, in Japan, the very composite category of 'Traditional Theater (傳統演劇)' did not exist until the first half of the 20th century. This cultural category of 'Traditional Theater' was invented through the process of modernization.

Chapter 1 Changing Historical Concept of Noh-Play

1-1 Historicity of Traditional Theater

When we research the modernization of Japanese theater, Noh-play is often neglected. In the scholarly literature on Japanese theaters, Kabuki and its derivative schools (e.g., Shinpa) are the main objects of discussion. At the same time, the transplantation and influence of Western theater are vigorously researched, and with a positivistic attitudes. I would like, therefore, to focus on the historicity of the concept of traditional theater through a consideration of Noh-play's changing social status, especially at the turning point between the Edo to Meiji eras; that is, from Premodern to Modern Japan. In this presentation, I am trying to analyze not only the historical facts of the invention of 'Traditional Theater,' but also the discourse and concepts about these historical facts.

Noh-play, which is rooted in the Shamanism, was shaped into its current form and completed by Kannami (観阿弥, 1333-84) and his son, Zeami (世阿弥, 1363-1443) in the medieval days of Japan. Since then, this performing art has been treated and interpreted variously, according to the diversity of its socio-historical context.

1-2 Social Status and Function of Noh-Play in the Edo Era

In the Edo era (江戸時代 1600-1867), according to the then dominant Japanese Confucian ideology, people were classified into groups according to the political hierarchy of the time. The people of Japanese society were divided into one of four classes, often called 'castes,' or status groups (士農工商): the class of warriors (武士), who ruled society; the class of farmers and peasants; the class of craftsmen; and the class of merchants. The latter three classes were dominated by the warrior class, which believed in and promulgated the Confucian ideal.※

We can find in the Edo era society parallels between the social classes and aesthetic tastes. In the field of stage performance, Kabuki and Bunraku puppet-theater were show business and favored by the lower castes. They were performed in permanent theaters and considered vulgar entertainment, Zoku-gaku (俗楽). As in the case of Kabuki that reflected their audience's morals and sensitivities, and was filled with erotic and cruelty scenes, the authorities regulated this kind of performance.

In contrast, Noh-play did not take the form of show business, presented on behalf of the Shogun warrior or provincial feudal lords. Noh-play was not considered a typical ordered ritualistic performance; rather, it was considered generally as a kind of prestige ritual or Shiki-gaku (式楽): the court performance in official ceremonies. At the same time, Noh-play was also enjoyed as a social means of private communication among high society. The upper class people, the higher echelons of the warriors, wealthy tradesmen, and aristocrats, sponsored this private entertainment. That is to say, in the Edo era, the social status, functions and supporters of Noh-play were totally different from those of Kabuki and Bunraku.

Chapter 2 Dominant / Subordinate Artistic Categories

2-1 Engeki (演劇)

In contemporary Japan, the standard term which covers all theatrical phenomena is Engeki (演劇). This word at first appeared in a famous book '閑情偶寄', written by a Chinese playwright, Li Yu (李漁, 1611-79). In the course of the Meiji era, on the other hand, Noh-play was never referred to as theater or Engeki. The word of Engeki (演劇) meant the theater or drama in Europe and stage performances transplanted into Japan from Europe. When the word of 演劇 is pronounced as 'Shibai', on the other hand, it does denote the genre of Kabuki. 'Shibai,' however, can also be written as 芝居 in Japanese language, which uses Chinese characters. The original meaning of 'Shiba-i' is grass-seats, that is, to use the Greece word, 'theatron.' Thus, the Japanese word 演劇 (Engeki or Shibai) extends to three different cultural systems: Japan, China, and

Europe.

2-2 Invention of 'Traditional Theater' Against Westernization

While Japan had imported and implanted the new category of 'theater' from Europe, Japan also invented the essential adjective 'traditional.' In the political context of modernization, the word 'Tradition' is exclusively applied to Japanese native culture. It was an antonym of 'modern' or 'modernization,' and a synonym of 'native.' Because 'modernization' connoted Westernization, the concept of 'tradition' meant the conservative aspect of Japanese culture in comparison with those aspects imported from Western society. The essentializing adjective 'traditional' was used to denote native culture in opposition to the rapid Westernization of Japan. In this way 'Traditional theater (傳統演劇)' was established as the essential background of Japan's Westernization. The concept of Traditional Theater is not only the cultural hybrid but also the ideological product in the context of modernization.

2-3 Introduction of 'Aesthetic Autonomy'

If we discuss 'The Rebirth of the Traditional Theater (傳統演劇)' from the point of view of historical discourse, then we must treat the framework for interpreting the 'Performing Arts' as something other than the two elements implicit in this concept, namely 'Traditional' and 'theater.'

In contemporary Japan, the word of Geijutsu (藝術) circulates as a general concept for arts. Bijutsu (美術) means 'fine arts,' 'beaux arts,' and 'Schone Kunsten.' Both of these words were translated terms from European languages. Besides, the concept of aesthetic autonomy was introduced and gradually took root in Japan together with these translations. According to the Chinese professor Gao Ming-Kai (高名凱), this term 藝術, which had been used in Chinese classics, was conversely transplanted from Japanese language into Chinese language in the historical context of modernization in East Asia.

But in the first half of the Meiji era, the word Bijutsu was used as a translation for arts in general, and the word of Geijutsu was translated as an interpretation of 'liberal arts.' These terms were translated as paired set by the erudite, Nishi Amane (西周 1829-1897). Watanabe Kazan (渡辺華山 1793-1841) and his group adopted the term for the first time in their report about foreign affairs in 1839 when the wave of colonialism from Europe gradually surged upon East Asia.

2-4 Confucian Hierarchy of the Science, Arts, and Cultures in the Edo Era

Before being adopted as a translated term, Geijutsu was originally one of the educational subjects for the warrior class who ruled the society and states as bureaucrats and servants for feudal lords. Thus, Geijutsu in the Edo era was compared to the six arts, Liuyi (六藝) in ancient China. Geijutsu, i.e., general concepts of arts is combined with the moral politics of Confucianism. In the Edo era, there were three cultural strata: Michi or Dou (道), Geijutsu (藝術) and Yugei (遊藝). Way (道) is a Confucian principle of the universe or an ethical harmony in the world. For the statesman, 'Geijutsu' was practical subjects of study to serve the public welfare in the state. Yugei meant personal entertainment and the social amusement. Kabuki theater and the licensed gay quarters, where a variety of Yugei amusement flourished, were acknowledged as necessary social evils (悪所). Noh was at once a performance for public ceremony, and a personal enjoyment that was also categorized under Yugei amusement.

2-5 Establishment of Traditional Theater

At the expense of the loss of this historical background, Geijutsu (藝術) later became the term which firstly means Western arts, and secondly the high arts, in the process of modernization. Western arts and high arts, which Japanese has admired, are standing aloof from the ordinary life of Japanese populace. In our own times, both Noh-play and Kabuki belong to this new category of arts: Geijutsu, as well as to its sub-category of theater: Engeki.

In the cultural hierarchy that depends on the Western type, the drama of dialogue acquired a high esteem. Traditional drama, e.g., Noh-play or Kabuki, which are accompanied by dance and chant, however, were only peripheral or marginal performances in the context of modernization, even though they are now national treasures and highly esteemed abroad.

Chapter 3 Resurgence of Noh-Play in the Meiji Era

3-1 Crisis of the Noh-Play in the Meiji Restoration

With the Meiji Restoration, political power was moved from the warrior class establishment to the emperor system, and as Noh-play had been under the protection of warrior class, it was detested by the Meiji New Government. During the first five years of the Meiji Restoration, Noh-play was in peril of decline or even ceasing to exist. Partly because Noh performers lost their institutional patronage from the warrior class, which they could expect in the Edo era.

Noh actors suffered from this disastrous change of events, and became vagabonds. In order to survive those hard days, Noh players were forced to sell even their properties as masks, costume, and so on. Some actors, e.g., Umewaka Minoru (梅若実, 1828-1909) ventured into performing Noh-play in public; i.e., in front of the ordinary audiences. Rather than relying on institutional patronage, Umewaka charged the public money. About ten years later, monthly public performance were a regular event.

3-2 Noh-gaku under the Protection of the New Government

According to the regulation issued in the fifth year of Meiji (1872), two genres were created: Geinoh (芸能) and Yugei (遊藝). Noh-play became a vulgar popular music genre together with Kabuki and Joururi (浄瑠璃) or Bunraku (文楽). They were at first strictly proscribed in the public interest of the ethical and social order by the New Government. But the government gradually changed their attitude towards Noh-play, especially after new aristocratic class became a patron of the performance. For example, the important aristocrat statesman Iwakura Tomomi (岩倉具視, 1825-83) began to promote and patronize Noh-play after his return from his inspection tour of Europe in 1874 (Meiji Six). Then, there was an important symbolic event in the history of Noh-play. In 1880 (Meiji Thirteen), the new name of Noh-gaku (能楽) was given to this performance, which used to be called Saru-gaku (猿楽), or monkey performance. The summit of the performance was honored with the inspection of the emperor. Thus Noh-play was again guarded and brought up by the aristocrat. In other words, Noh-play regained its social high status in the new cultural context of Bunmeikaika (文明開化): Civilization in the trend of Westernization. But why was Noh-play also interpreted as a Gaku even in the new historical context?

3-3 Ethic-Educational Effect of Musical Performing Arts

Some leading Meiji enlightenment intellectuals, e.g., Fukuzawa Yukichi (福澤諭吉, 1834-1901) and Nishimura Shigeki (西村茂樹, 1828-1902) advocated the civilization of people through culture. Though they expressed their opposition to conservative Confucian ideals, they too considered the arts and culture as a means to educate people into a new, civilized nation; which is very near to the Confucian point of view. Law, morality, and the various arts including music, fine arts, literature in Europe, were appreciated by these enlightenment intellectuals, so they were introduced into Japan. Though Opera was considered to represent the European social culture, Japanese companies did not perform it until the early 20th century. Instead Noh-play was considered to be the equivalent to Opera in Western society. Thus, Noh-play and Kabuki could now be classified into a kind of Opera or musical, rather than a genre of theater, because both are musical dramas with chant and dance. However, because of its social status as a high art, rather

than the content of its drama performed by its unique style, only Noh-play was compared to Opera.

3-4 Political Aesthetics of Noh-Play

The Meiji Restoration (1868) abolished social 'castes,' unifying the four classes into one: the nation (國民) or nationality. 'Gracefulness' was important to the Noh-play becoming the representative national performing art, or Kokugaku (國樂). The gracefulness of Noh-play was regarded by some intellectuals as being useful in civilizing Japanese people. Moreover, Noh-play's close relationship with the aristocracy played an important role in giving its aesthetic quality a political-educational function: to elevate the common people. Because the emperor was the symbol of civilization, the political aesthetics of modernization lay behind the opinions advocated by some intellectuals of the Meiji era. Through the metonymic association, this gracefulness that is imparted by Noh-play onto the spectator is derived from the political-cultural prestige of the emperor who is the symbol of civilization.

At the same time, Japanese scholar looked into Japanese history for Noh-play's historical origins. Distinguished scholars, e.g., Kume Kunitake (久米邦武, 1839-1931) who was trained in the Western history methodology of those days, occupied themselves with discovering Japan's artistic origins in the past of East Asia; and they, in a sense, interpreted the document arbitrarily, thus providing a prestigious genealogy to Noh-play. Being able to demonstrate the fact that Japan has a noble kind of Opera performance meant, to Japanese intellectuals as well as to the eyes of the Westerners, that Japan is also 'an advanced civilized country' with a proper national history of Japanese race, crowned with elegant dance and chant.

The emperor system has given a tacit support to Noh-play as traditional theater. As the financial support for Noh-play does not derive from the stage business, i.e., the Iemoto system (家元制) evolved successfully. This is an organized teaching system, whose business is the selling of 'licenses' according to performing skills, e.g., chant, lyrical narration and dance. In this respect, Noh-play is what we call a Geigoto, namely the materials for the private lessons, and the personal cultivation for the people, i.e., to say, individuals with the leisure time and money to purchase lessons in the pursuit of cultivating themselves.

3-5 Improvement of Kabuki

The Meiji government put Kabuki under the ministry of education's control, and tried to educate people by modernizing Kabuki, which had a significant influence on the morals and behavior of the lower classes. Progressive critics turned to Kabuki, thinking that it should be improved according to the model of Western theater and drama. For example, a new theater of

Kabuki modeled on Western theaters, was built in the center of Tokyo in 1878 (Meiji Eleven). Kabuki was performed before the Emperor in 1889, which added a symbolic new meaning to its social prestige. In a famous campaign to improve Kabuki was aimed, first of all, at the elevation of its social status.

Kabuki and Bunraku were popular stage arts supported by the common people. But performing style and theatrical sensitivity could not correspond to the mainstream of new age. Their repertoire were gradually fixed and at last became classic. Audience and even actors did not consider this genre as a contemporary entertainment. What was considered contemporary entertainment is a cultural mixture between Japanese traditional theater and Western theater, called the new school of Kabuki, or Shinpa (新派). Even now, what evolved from this new school of Kabuki, a type of Western theater, is called Shingeki (新劇). Noh-play in the Edo era had already become an almost classical performance, and thus too fixed to produce a new variant of itself and new repertoires.

3-6 From Gaku To Geki: Paradigm Shift of Performing Culture

Noh-play and Kabuki were clearly discriminated, and never grouped under the same socio-cultural dimension. Through modernization, however, these performances have been unified under the same concept of Theater. However, there was a long quarrel about the classification of Noh-play. This is because the representative image of drama derived from modern Europe is a dialogue without dance and chant, whereas Noh-performance is characterized by dance, music, chorus, chant and lyrical dialogue. Through this cognitive friction, the category of 'theater' (Engeki 演劇) was implanted onto the cultural soil of Japan.

Through the process of Westernization, contrastive genres, Noh-play and Kabuki which had been Gaku (樂), and other types of theater, were gradually unified into one: Geki (劇). Then the conceptual framework of performing arts changed from the Confucian Gaku (樂) into the modernistic Geki (劇). 'Theatricality' played an important role of filter that screened indigenous performing cultures into the modern rubric called traditional theater. But, the category of GAKU, which connotes ritualistic dance accompanied by music, was imported from China and considered to be part of high culture, is excluded by this standard. For example, Bugaku and Gagaku are not theater. Sarugaku, Kabuki and Joururi, however, are incorporated into this new category of GEKI, a word that was derived from Chinese language, but marks the theatricality under the influence of Western theatrical culture. The demarcation of theater as a general concept was completed after the World War II. The old way of thinking about performing arts, Gaku, was suppressed by the dominant Western Geki.

Chapter 4. Paradox of the Traditional Theater in Our Age

4-1 Multiplication of Traditional Drama Through Mechanical Reproduction

Modernization has significantly transformed the way theater has been conceptualized in East Asia, including Japan. But, with the development of mechanical reproduction and recent advances in digital technology, drama has extended its range from the theater to include TV, video, cinema, the World Wide Web, and so on.

Traditional theater is not the content expressed or reproduced by media, but the theater is the medium or rather the environment of performance. The concept of music can be separated from the place, e.g., the concert hall where a song or a piece of music is performed by the performer. However, in the genre of theater, performing arts can not be separated from the real physical existence of the performer in front of the audience. Theater is never an audio-visual phenomenon like music is when recorded on a compact disc (CD) or laser disc (LD).

4-2 From Drama To Performance

As above mentioned, traditional dramas are, however, now reproduced in various media, including novels, TV, dramas, the cinema, and so on. Through these cultural reproductions, traditional drama has survived and revived. In fact, traditional dramas are enjoyed on TV or videocassettes in our own living room as well as on the stage in a theater. On the national holidays, we can enjoy watching Noh-plays on TV. This ritual function of Noh-performance for official ceremonies is a cultural heritage from the Edo era (as described in Chapter 2). In the classroom, we usually use audio-visual resources as teaching materials to illustrate Noh, Kabuki and other forms of theater. Indeed, videocassette or LD, and now DVD, libraries, which record the performance of traditional theater, are commonly sold in the market. Today, we can use computers and their digital networks to see, record, and analyze these performances.

In this socio-cultural conditions, the proper field of drama is no longer exclusively in the theater. The prototype of the theater has changed from written dialogue drama to the events where play is performed for the benefit of an audience. Following this direction of theatrical phenomena from 'drama' to 'performance or enactment,' our attention turns again to 'Traditional theater', which is characterized by dance and chant. Here, we can recognize the change of the interest in Theater from 'written drama' to 'performance'. 'Traditional theater' can be liberated from its marginal existence under the cultural hegemony of 'Western dialogue drama.' Behind this stream of understanding, there exists a contemporary insight about theatrical communication.

4-3 Analysis of 'Matsukaze 『松風』'

In the contemporary context of theater and drama, the audiences take an interest in the theatrical effects of performance displayed by the performer and schemed by the director. In this presentation, I will limit myself to an analysis of one scene of the Noh-play 'Matsukaze' to illustrate the reciprocal communication between performance and audience. Parts (1) and (2), are concise sketches of the necessity of the concrete analysis of Noh-play through the use of video technology. The artistic-religious function of property of souvenirs (in Japanese KATAMI 形見) is examined in parts (3) and (4).

(1) Text, Performance and Performance-Text

In the age of high technology with mass production and reproduction, we can make use of video to analyze the Noh-play. Noh-play has its essential representation on the stage: performance, not in the dramatic text. Noh-play recorded on film is a performance-text that is very useful as a means of analyzing the performance-event. Through reading the performance text on video, we can approach the true meaning and significance of the performance.

(2) Doubleness of Communication in the Theater

There are different kinds of communication in the theater, such as dramatic communication and theatrical communication. The former is between characters, the latter is between actors playing the characters and the audience. Theatrical communication is the dimension of artistic expression of the performer as well as the playwright. If we turn our eyes to the medium of communication, we come to find language, costume, gesture, property, music, lighting, and so on.

In the frame of theatrical communication, performative elements other than language play very important roles. These elements of play, especially dance (舞) and chant (歌), are 'void' of the dramatic text; in Japanese Yokyoku (謡曲). I am going to analyze this aspect of the Noh-play, focusing on the property, by making use of a performance text on video as well as the dramatic text in a book.

(3) Plot of 'Matsukaze 『松風』'

A priest arrives at Suma bay to find an evergreen pine tree, there he meets two sisters, Matsukaze and Murasame. They were beloved by Yukihiro, the poet-aristocrat who was exiled to this place. After having been forgiven for his crime, he returns to the capital, leaving behind a

verse-poem as a sign of his commitment. In this promise, he swears by the god of the pine tree standing on Mt. Inaba that whenever they call him for, he will hurry back to them. But he is to be dead three years after returning to the capital. Having heard of his death, the sisters also die pining after their lost lover. The pine tree is, therefore, not only the tomb of the sisters, but also the natural monument of their love. Even after their death, they could not accomplish their death or purify their souls because they still have an attachment to their ephemeral love affair in this world. As they could not fulfill their hope, they cannot fully emancipate themselves from this mundane world. Thus, they now haunt Suma bay, which forms the boundary between this world and that other world.

(4) Transformation of Property (Keepsake or Memento=KATAMI 形見)

(fig.1)

(fig.2)

(fig.3)

Matsukaze confesses her true career to the priest and takes hold of a piece of cloth and a hat, cherishing the memories of her tragic love affair (fig.1). That cloth and hat, which are part of an aristocrat's formal attire, are keepsakes from Yukihiro. In this sense, for the audience, this cloth and hat is an index of her lover and their love affair. While watching the stage, this memento, which she holds to her breast, changes its figure into the form of an aristocratic man with a hat (fig.2). This transformation of property enables spectators to recognize that, in the bosom of her heart, Matsukaze is yearning for the unification with her lover for whom she has been waiting a very long time. Following this orientation, the audience interprets her mind and behavior, which, in the next step, gives to the audience the context for the stage-watching-experience.

In the next scene, called MONOGI (物着), Matsukaze sits in deep grief along the riverside, wearing the souvenir: the cloth and hat (fig.3). Here we must also take into consideration the folk-belief that the costume of souvenir, as well as the pine tree are spots where lovers will come back to visit. In fact, Matsukaze is possessed by some spirit and falls in madness, confusing the pine tree with resurrected Yukihiro. This process and change from sanity to insanity is caused by her passion for her lover. This happens in the dramatic world.

With the help of this visual transformation of property, spectators not only grasp easily the orientation of her mind towards Yukihiro, they also see the phantom of Yukihiro. Because she is dressed as an aristocrat, she herself evokes the image of Yukihiro. In theatrical communication, she represents Yukihiro. This scene is followed by the advent of Yukihiro through the effects of dance and chant, but here we must stop explaining the development of this performance.

We can articulate the significant function of property and costume through this reciprocal communication that we can not do through text reading only. This cultural form of the aesthetic experience of the Noh-play is not the direct watching but the indirect reading through Video. This video reading is a new kind of experience that can afford us a closer understanding of a theatrical event with a solitary hermeneutic effort. In this way, by using Video, we can accumulate the informative knowledge of the play.

4-4 Alienation of Traditional Theater

By using the video, we can easily approach the traditional theater of Japan, where locates at about 1,000 miles distance from Taiwan. Next week, Noh-play is going to be performed as an event of this Festival of the Rebirth of Traditional Arts in Asia-Pacific Region. By the development of technology and airline systems, we can enjoy and study the traditional theater of other countries and districts much easier than before. But can we really congratulate the revival of the traditional theater in our high technological age?

Let's explain this point still more. First of all, theatrical performance is not an artifact like a painting or a sculpture, but an event or a kind of communication between performer and audience. When we think the concept of theatrical communication substantially, we must take into consideration the historical situation to which audiences belong. When we watch a play performed, we can understand what happens on the stage as a fictional world, distancing ourselves from the real world. This aesthetic attitude of the audience towards the drama is characterized by what we call the 'disinterestedness.' But we audience actually experience the dramatic world through direct theatrical communication which is not a fictional but an actual one.

Noh-play or Kabuki can no longer be a traditional theater in its true sense. Because they are already separated from the socio-axiological context that made them a living tradition. For example, the moral sensitivity of contemporary audiences keeps their distance from the feudal sense of morality. Among representative repertoires of Kabuki, there are some of the most famous scenes that servants sacrifice their sons to save the lives of their lords' sons in difficult predicaments. This scene is the spot where audience should feel what we call the 'tragic pleasure.' But we cannot experience it easily for a while. Because this pleasure presupposes to some extent a similar compassion or identification with the servants. We can not easily feel compassion or sympathy with them. On the contrary, we may detest or feel an aversion to such scenes as we also find in 'Sanguo-yanyi (三国演義).' Though this kind of historical episode is very common in history, as our hearts are deeply rooted in Contemporary sensibility or ethos, we cannot help finding difficulties to sympathize with these characters. As a result, the famous repertoire, e.g.,

'Terakoya (寺小屋)' or 'Kumagai-jinya (熊谷陣屋),' become a kind of cultural samples or specimens when stage become a cultural showroom or classroom.

4-5 Alienation of the Audience from Tradition.

To experience the dramatic world, we commit ourselves in a deeper dimension than mere understanding. To experience a religious feeling, we must be given a kind of competence, which surpasses the rational attitude. Here we must face the problem of hermeneutics. Usually hermeneutics teaches us that we can surpass the distance of time, space and value systems. In the case of theater, the point is the audience's belief and sensitivity.

Traditional theater present the enhanced reality in those days: the manifestation of sacred or moral sublimity to the audience. Because of their 'prejudice', contemporary audiences tend to feel some alienation from, e.g., medieval Shamanism or Edo feudal moral. The scene, which goes beyond our ability of understanding or sympathizing, may appear as something strange or mysterious. Then, we might think that the audiences of our age keep some distance from such tragic scenes and that traditional theater has turned away from the sense of values of the audience. Here we stand the pivotal point. What is the true meaning of traditional theater? How does the Tradition appear in the traditional theater? The traditional theater is not just the cultural assets inherited from the ancestors.

In the process of attending theater, the audience transforms a self-oriented interpretation naturally and unconsciously. The audience should be treated as a group. The base of theatrical experience is essentially collective, not solitary. Sitting in the seat surrounded by other audiences, we audience are gradually involved in the dramatic situation existentially. Then the audience is not a pure bystander. The audiences are gradually absorbed into the dramatic world to unify with it. Among spectators, we are melted into the audience, as well as into the drama, emancipating ourselves from ordinary ego-subject. The eyes of their hearts may open to the different value system displayed on the stage. After this kind of aesthetic unification with Tradition through drama, we can experience the rebirth of ourselves. Traditional theater is the occasion in which the Tradition will be disclosed to the audience. In this sense, traditional theater is the place where the conversion of the audience may occur. It may seem the traditional theater is alienated from the present day, but in fact, the contemporary audiences who are alienated from Tradition should be combined with Tradition.

Conclusion

We have examined the concept of the traditional Theater as established through the historical process of modernization. Modernization, which has invented the concept of traditional theater, has also eradicated the base of traditional theater. The axiological principle of modernity, namely humanism, individualism, democracy and so on, has prevailed in society through this historical process. As a result, the sensibility as well as the mentality of the people has transformed. It seems that the foundation of traditional Theater has been transfigured or is even extinct.

However, traditional theater is not simply the historical product. The essence of the traditional theater consists in its super-historicity, i.e. transcendentality. It appears as the eternal universality on the theater through enactment. Contemporary audience can recover themselves through the contact with this universality. Reversely, the dynamics of the traditional theater is revived and enlarged with our effort to live with Tradition. What is alienated from Tradition is not the traditional theater but the contemporary audience. In fact, we cannot live as a human being if we are separated from the Tradition. This should be kept in mind when we try to think a contemporaneity of Traditional theater in our high technological age.

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日本現代化下“傳統演劇”的矛盾再生物：以‘能劇’為例
The Paradoxical Rebirth of ‘Traditional Theater 傳統演劇’ Through Modernization of Japan: The
Case of the ‘Noh-Play’

／青木孝夫(日本) Dr. Takao Aoki(Japan)

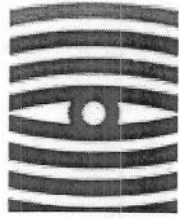
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萬煜瑤

壹、前言

早期台灣傳統民間藝術方面的研究長久以來因未受學界重視，一直缺乏系統性深入探討的學術文獻資料。近年來隨著地方匠師及老藝人逐漸地凋零，極具文化藝術價值的民間傳統技藝工法與知識也發生傳承斷層的危機。而在目前以西方美學價值為主流的學院派藝術教育訓練中，傳統藝術一直未能列入主要核心課程規劃之教育系統，也直接衝擊到民間藝術的永續發展。種種相關問題與影響均引發學界及民間關心傳統藝術文化的保存傳承等議題與省思。值此世代交替之際，唯有致力於台灣文化主體性的建立，從多元的學理角度來廣泛進行傳統藝術美學以及技藝保存之學術與實證研究，在教育及社會層面建立傳統藝術的永續發展，才是新世代台灣藝術文化全面性發展之重要指標¹。

過去有關傳統藝術研究主要在整體性廟宇建築裝飾方面²，在形式方面整理通論。有些研究則重在廟宇雕繪圖案典故整理³，提供歷史背景、內容觀念之文化依循脈絡。然而在傳統藝術的範疇中相當重要的視覺形式之木雕藝術，較缺乏深入的學術性分析與探討。近年來學界著手進行國家級傳統木雕藝師的作品及生命史研究，包括漳州派黃龜理藝師⁴及泉州派李松林藝師⁵兩案，然均因藝師過世而致身後眾多珍貴資料檔案未及詳細完整配合口述紀錄來完成全面研究，此實為民間文化藝術的損失。

最近十年來國內民間重要老藝人凋謝最速且最多，卻也是中生代藝人新起時刻（林保堯，1997：196）。其中目前專業從事傳統木雕有彰化鹿港的施鎮洋，為教育部第八屆民族藝術木雕類薪傳獎得主，亦為文建會重要民族藝術傳承藝師。施鎮洋年輕時期即師承其父大木匠師施坤玉，投入傳統木雕四十年，屬於泉州風格流派⁶。施鎮洋早期承作廟宇工程，例

¹ 相關論述詳見江韶瑩(1997: 15-34)、林保堯(1997: 195)、萬煜瑤(1998a)。

² 早期相關著作例如宋龍飛(1985)、席德進(1986)、劉文三(1986)、王慶台(1989)、李乾朗(1989, 1986)，以及黃文博、涂順從所撰有關南台灣廟宇系列(1985a, 1985b, 1985c, 1985d, 1985e)等。

³ 相關著作例如陳美娟(1996)、曾勤良(1997)、施鎮洋、李榮聰(1999)。

⁴ 黃龜理藝師傳習保存研究最早由國立藝專(1991)進行，後有國立藝術學院傳統藝術研究中心(1996a, 1996b)之研究。

⁵ 詳見彰化縣立文化中心(1994)及王耀庭(1995)。

⁶ 施鎮洋表示台灣民間傳統木雕主要流派約有泉州式、福州式兩系統，另一說還包括漳州、溫州、及潮州系統，乃在區分早期木雕師來源地區以及工具用法、雕刻風格之異同性。目前台灣木雕風格已經大致互通交流而並非非常明顯的兩極差異，但雕刻工具仍有不同。福州刀之握柄為木製，握把較細而鋼刀面相較為寬，主要以鐵錐

如彰化太極恩主寺中港神龕、福吉佛堂北式神龕及八仙桌⁷、以及彰化城隍廟神輿和賞善罰惡八仙桌等，展現出其家學及個人木作設計與承造能力，並在工法及整體表現上結合其多年累積的傳統木作和雕刻的知識與經驗。施鎮洋從事木雕雕刻四十載歷程當中（作品詳表一、表二、表三），以其花費九年時光完成的鹿港施姓宗祠神龕最具代表性，也是到目前為止其個人木雕生涯最重要的作品。

本論文針對施鎮洋在鹿港施姓大宗祠所獨立設計承作之木雕神龕堵件為例，探討台灣民間傳統木雕藝術的美學意涵以及保存與再生之時代文化意義。本文主要採用口述歷史研究法蒐集資料，並以田野調查方式實地勘查作品，進行各堵面圖像紀錄及手繪平面圖稿與立體實作的資料分析。研究重點依兩大探討架構，第一，紀錄分析此件宗祠神龕雕刻作品之承製背景、設計理念及雕作過程和知識；其二，從藝術評析角度，分析施鎮洋雕製神龕構件的圖式母題之內容象徵，以探討其創作風格與傳統美感表現。本研究旨在深入傳統木雕藝術深層闡釋內涵及文化風格，並從藝術社會層面探討傳統藝術的創作生態及時代意義，提供有關民間傳統木雕藝術之學理研究。

貳、施鎮洋學藝師承背景

施鎮洋學藝最主要師承應歸溯自其父親施坤玉⁸的影響。施坤玉祖籍福建泉州，早年隨同鄉施明智師學習製作篙尺等大木作技藝，三年學成後與明智師共事傳統民宅建築工作一兩年，即參加日本施工團合作公家建築工程⁹，學習到比例縮尺繪圖泰西之法。直至民國四十八年主修鹿港天后宮後殿，繼續承作傳統廟宇施作¹⁰至今。近二三十年坤玉師進行傳統大木工程均著重繪製平面縮尺比例圖稿，設計建築結構以掌握全局，異於傳統木作師傅作法反而近似現代建築師¹¹。施坤玉並無顯赫師承且與明智師¹²學習共事時間不長，其木作技

配合雕刀敲鑿：泉州式刀具握柄與刀面全為鋼製，握把寬度與刀面寬度較為相近，主要以木棒配合雕刀敲鑿。

⁷ 相關研究詳見葛煜瑤(1997a, 1998a, 1998b)。

⁸ 施坤玉民國八年(1919)十一月二十三日生於彰化鹿港，現居鹿港鎮成功路149巷2號，育有四子二女，子施鎮洋、施永隆、施錦華、施鎮榮皆曾隨施坤玉學木作技藝。

⁹ 根據邱博舜(1997:19-23)之研究，施坤玉所參加過的日人組包括「清水組」、「大林組」、「之古組」。當時日據時期各地廟宇建修興盛，因日人引進日西式建法知識影響本地匠師之風格，例如泉州大木匠師王益順、漳州匠師陳應彬分別在整修萬華龍山寺、台北保安宮時均引日式法添建鐘鼓樓，而彰化南瑤宮之整修更出現有中日西多元風格建法之整合應用。

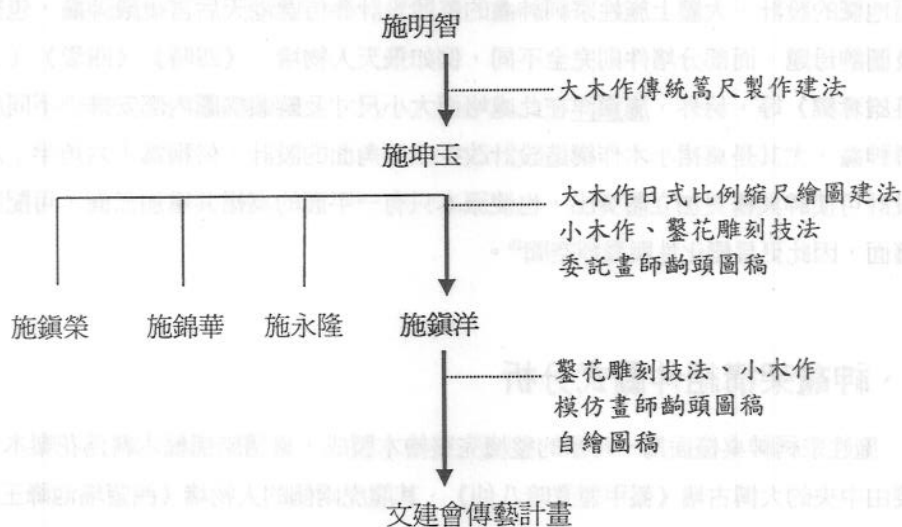
¹⁰ 坤玉師傳統建築作品計有鹿港天后宮、里港雙慈宮、大甲鎮瀾宮、高雄新豐宮、斗南寒林寺、彰化太極恩主寺、台中孔廟、梧棲浩天宮、沙鹿祿清宮、鹿港鳳朝宮、鹿港泰安宮、鹿港代天府、花壇台灣民俗村、竹山保安宮、桃園安聖宮等處設計建造、局部整建、或神龕八卦藻井牌樓等小木構件裝修等等，施作部分詳細資料見邱博舜(1997:25)。

¹¹ 邱博舜(1997)發現坤玉師均習以十比一或二十比一的比例縮尺繪製圖稿，受日人影響甚大，屬於現代版的執篙師

藝和觀念屬於自我養成，從翻建整修中南部各地廟宇建築經驗中，施坤玉以過目不忘的理解力與記憶能力看實例觀摩學樣，使其較不至於拘泥成規而有自創空間。

施鎮洋幼年即常在其父工作地方出入，初中肄業即正式學習木作，從磨雕刻工具開始，後來慢慢接觸其父親所承作的工程。早年施鎮洋剛開始大都與其父共同承作傳統建築工程，常由施坤玉設計而施鎮洋負責實際作工¹³，例如彰化太極恩主寺中港神龕即為一例，至於神龕後五堵龍型大浮雕乃施鎮洋請台南潘麗水彩繪師手繪圖稿後而再雕製完成¹⁴。施鎮洋獨立後開始自行設計承作，例如第一件完成的彰化福吉佛堂北式神龕，不僅將坤玉師的日式比例縮圖的技巧應用在木作實例上，更獨力設計出屬於北式風格的神龕結構。從這些早期的廟宇作品可見其木作雕刻的觀摩學習能力上亦有乃父之風。鹿港本身為人文薈萃之地，傳統廟宇如天后宮、龍山寺的前人精美雕作，以及雕刻前輩如李松林等木雕師作品都是施鎮洋學習的範例。

在圖稿方面，早期木雕師傅大都請畫師代繪木雕稿並將其代代相傳。施鎮洋一直嘗試藉由閱覽群書畫冊及觀摩臨摹前人作品中累積自行繪圖能力，其中包括各家白描線稿及水墨畫譜。另外，施鎮洋相當欣賞潘麗水畫作表現手法，在之後承建工程過程中，所設計之圖紋、造型、佈局均受潘氏圖作影響很大。分析施鎮洋的專業技藝養成過程可簡化如下：



圖一、施鎮洋技藝養成傳承示意圖

傳。

¹² 施明智師於中日台海戰爭緊張之際即返回泉州。

¹³ 見邱博舜(1997: 73)。

¹⁴ 早期彩繪畫師常應要求繪製木雕圖稿供鑿花師傅雕刻，潘麗水亦曾繪製數幅木雕用圖稿，在府城傳統畫師潘麗水作品集所刊潘氏木雕圖版《竹林七賢》和施鎮洋在施姓宗祠神龕堵所作之佈局相當近似，可見施鎮洋在摹作畫師稿受潘氏個人影響之深。

參、施姓宗祠神龕承製背景

施姓大宗祠位於彰化縣鹿港鎮，於民國六十八年動工，歷時十二年工程於民國八十年主體建築落成。宗祠堂號為臨濮堂，除奉祀施姓歷代祖先暨宗廟諸神，也做為海內外施姓族人的連繫中心，成為施氏族人的宗教信仰和精神據點。施姓宗祠為四層樓建築，木料石材特選大陸建材極品，施鎮洋主要承接宗祠內位於四樓的主神龕製作工程，包括邊門及三樓梯間《滿堂吉慶》作品等周邊雕飾，前後雕作歷程從七十四年至八十二年共約九年才完成。

早期一般師傅承製廟宇木雕過程大都採競標工程，或被雇主要求以「拼場」方式進行¹⁵。施鎮洋獨立承作的廟宇木雕工程都是廟方(資方)直接邀請或委託，除因其個人承製習慣之故，也因其過去雕刻工程之表現已漸獲肯定，鹿港施姓宗祠工程委作過程即為一例。當時籌建委員會以委託方式請施鎮洋承作木雕神龕，包括八仙楣、牌樓斗拱、雕屏堵、花鳥柱、龍柱、六角半桌台及桌裙，以及宗祠屬性的堂號匾額和祖先牌位。首先神龕承作必須配合宗祠內原有樑柱水泥結構部分，而且因應宗祠委員會要求下，部份神龕堵面構件須參照摹仿鹿港天后宮後殿神龕的圖案齣頭及堵件佈局，尤其是屏堵的《大四季》花鳥堵、桌裙博古堵《盔甲連登》、《東來紫氣滿函關》《西望瑤池降王母》人物堵內容，以及神桌檯面地欄的設計。大體上施姓宗祠神龕的整體設計參仿鹿港天后宮後殿神龕，包括堵件佈局及圖齣母題，而部分堵件則完全不同，例如飛天人物堵、《四時》《四愛》《三王圖》《英雄奪錦》等。另外，施鎮洋在此處堵面大小尺寸及齣頭構圖內部安排仍不同於天后宮後殿神龕，尤其是桌裙小木作構造設計改採三個角面的設計，俗稱為「六角半」之造型。此設計可使神桌檯更加立體突出，也使原本只有一平面的桌裙共增加三面，可配置嵌入更多堵面，因此更具變化性與發揮空間¹⁶。

肆、神龕架構組件圖式分析

施姓宗祠神桌檯面為一吋厚的整塊完整檜木製成，桌裙結構框木料為花梨木。桌裙堵主要由中央的大博古堵《盔甲連登暗八仙》、其龍虎兩側的人物堵《西望瑤池降王母》《東來紫氣滿函關》對堵、以及外側龍虎邊花鳥堵《三王圖》《英雄奪錦》對堵所構成。神桌下方力水雕刻雙龍拜塔，左右兩側則是牡丹鳳，最底下由四個吞腳頂住整個神龕。神桌檯面邊緣有一排地欄，上有醉八仙和八座獅子裝飾。地欄內側立著兩對左右對稱的龍柱及花鳥柱。中間龕口處裝飾有番花草紋為主的三角楣以及一組對聯，龕口內是有龍型雕紋的施姓祖先牌位。

¹⁵ 漳州木雕師黃龜禮在拼場競爭影響下，曾完成不少精湛的作品。

¹⁶ 詳見萬煜瑤（2000）。

神龕雕屏堵的相關位置為桌裙檯面以上之構件，以中間龕口為中心，龍虎兩邊各有外、中、內側的三排堵面，並依大小尺寸及內容圖案的性質，以兩兩堵面互作龍虎邊對稱的位置安排。自最外側堵開始以龍虎兩邊互相對應的堵面，由外、中而內側，由上而下的順序依次為神龕外側：水族堵《鯉魚》對堵、貼楣《苦瓜鼠》、花鳥堵《雙雀梅花》對堵、人物堵《祁樂天》對堵、走獸堵《太平有象》《瑞應辨至》對堵、草花堵對堵；神龕中側：走獸堵《八駿馬》對堵、花鳥堵《大四季》對堵、人物堵《竹林七賢》《五老觀太極》對堵；神龕內側：水族堵《順順灣》《二甲傳臚》對堵、人物堵《四時》《四愛》對堵、《博古》對堵。施鎮洋承作部分還包括神龕上端八仙貼楣、牌樓部分的雙層吊筒花籃和獅座，及正中「臨濮堂」堂號匾額。（神龕結構詳圖二，神龕詳圖三）

（一）圖式內容象徵

施鎮洋在施姓宗祠神龕雕屏堵以及桌裙堵的設計製作上整合運用人物、花鳥、走獸、博古等傳統題材，以下分就母題內容說明。

一、人物圖式

伎樂天、竹林七賢、五老觀太極、四愛、四時、東來紫氣滿函關、西望瑤池降王母

神龕雕屏堵及桌裙堵的人物堵共四對堵八個堵面，各堵均具不同圖像故事情節，即一般俗稱「齣頭」，其角色配置大致延續早期師傅所留傳下來之方式。「齣頭」代表的意義一為主意，二是創意，也就是題材雖是延續前人，但也是一種創意的呈現。傳統木雕古來自有豐富的題材及象徵意義代代傳承，但是畫面可依雕作師傅意願進行形式調整與修飾。此神龕人物堵件計有雕屏堵外側的《伎樂天》對堵、雕屏堵中側的《竹林七賢》與《五老觀太極》對堵、雕屏堵內側的《四愛》與《四時》對堵，共三對堵六個堵面。桌裙堵部分則有《東來紫氣滿函關》、《西望瑤池降王母》一對堵兩個堵面。

《伎樂天》人物對堵¹⁷位於神龕外側龍、虎兩邊對堵。龍邊堵之構圖形式主要是由兩位身呈 S 形的飛天伎樂天，或手拍著羯鼓或手彈箏篪，以及一張大嘴的四爪龍和一隻朝向正前方的老虎所組成。背景佈滿雲朵並與堵邊相連。相對應的虎邊人物堵主要是由兩位飛天伎樂天分別彈著琵琶或花邊阮樂器以及一隻鳳和一隻左前腳踏彩球的獅組成。背景佈滿雲

¹⁷ 《伎樂天》2寸厚台灣牛樟木，2尺×7寸6分（約60×23cm），採雕板透雕雕刻技法，浮框（出框）及上貼金。有關各堵面尺寸大小之丈量基準，主要依據框內堵面包含浮框（出框）及沉框（留框）之尺寸。因各堵件乃由後鑲嵌在神龕結構骨架上，須考量重疊連接部分，因此原件完整木料的尺寸實際上較大。

朵並與堵邊相連。此飛天人物堵的圖稿乃施鎮洋參考水墨畫家華三川¹⁸的敦煌飛天畫作，而改描繪成人物堵木雕圖稿，原圖人物取材則始自敦煌壁畫中的飛天伎樂天¹⁹。此處飛天伎樂人體比例修長，輕柔而具動感，奏著樂器在雲間飄飄然飛翔，充分表現女性曲線美感，其身後的動物姿態似隨著音符起舞應合。以飛天伎樂天之圖案造型應用於宗祠，象徵仙樂終日繚繞於祖先身旁，具有吉祥愉悅之意。（詳圖四、圖五）

《五老觀太極》²⁰位於龍邊雕屏中側下方堵面，主要刻劃在整片松柳樹為背景中五位老者²¹觀太極圖而兩位侍童分持平攤的太極圖軸兩端，每位老者或觀或言或思或行，手勢動態相當豐富。八卦太極圖帶有辟邪之吉祥寓意，五老在此觀圖意在領悟出八卦易經之人生真理而能樂天知命²²。雕刻此齣頭乃希冀施姓後代子孫皆能像五老般長壽，彼此和諧探討事物道理，如同五老觀太極圖一般。位於虎邊相對位置《竹林七賢》主要刻劃竹林石桌旁七位文人²³或對奕、觀看、討論、讀書、沉思或緩行，同樣各具動態。雕刻此題材乃是期許施姓後代子孫都能效法賢人處於亂世的品德與操守。

《四愛》《四時》²⁴對堵位於神龕雕屏的中堵位置，由神龕正面觀之恰好位於神龕兩龍柱後方。位於龍邊雕屏《四愛》構圖由上往下分別為愛鵝成癡的「王右軍愛鵝」、醉態不拘的「李太白²⁵愛酒」、悠然賞菊的「蘇東坡愛菊」、及護梅心切的「林合靖²⁶愛梅」等四個古代性情人物的齣頭。位於虎邊雕屏的《四時》人物堵面雕刻，整體構圖也因不同地平面向上而下依次分割成四個畫面部份。主要藉由人們在春夏秋冬四種季節的踏青、賞蓮、

¹⁸ 華三川畫集—濃妝豔抹，藝術家出版社。

¹⁹ 伎樂天是天界的歌舞團，具多元樣式表現，有單身的天宮伎樂、飛天伎樂、藥叉伎樂和在佛身邊的金剛力士伎樂、童子伎樂、羽人伎樂等。此處所雕為飛天伎。伎樂天都持有樂器，有中原的琴、箏、排簫，有西域的笛、胡角、羯鼓，也有印度、波斯傳入的琵琶、箏篋。引自《敦煌石窟研究國際討論會文集》，1990: 277-294。美術出版社，一版。

²⁰ 《五老觀太極》2吋厚台灣牛樟木，1尺6寸4分×1尺2寸2分（約50×37cm），採雕板透雕雕刻技法、浮框（出框）及上貼金。

²¹ 五老所指為古代神話傳說的五星之精²¹，此五老星在古代帝王聖人誕生時都會預顯吉兆，代表聖王即將到來的表徵。見陳美娟（1996）。

²² 見施鎮洋、李榮聰（1999: 278）。

²³ 竹林七賢是魏晉南北朝清談之代表人物，南朝宋劉義慶《世說新語》〈任誕第二十三〉「陳留阮籍，譙國嵇康，何內山濤，三人年皆相比，康年少亞之。預此契者：沛國劉伶，陳留阮咸，何內向秀，琅邪王榮。七人常集於竹林之下，似意酣暢，故世謂『竹林七賢』」，引自施鎮洋、李榮聰（1999: 72）。

²⁴ 《四愛》《四時》2吋厚台灣牛樟木，2尺×1尺3寸4分（約60×40cm），採雕板透雕雕刻技法、浮框（出框）及上貼金。

²⁵ 天才洋盜的詩人李白深獲得唐玄宗賞識，其個性豪放不拘，義勇任俠而輕財重施，號酒仙翁，奇人奇行在《舊唐書》卷一百九十下和《新唐書》中多有記載。

²⁶ 林和靖為北宋詩人，字君復，其詩風格恬淡並多描寫閒適隱逸生活和心境，喜植梅樹養鶴，人稱「梅妻鶴子」（施鎮洋、李榮聰，1999: 216）。

農閒、用雪光讀書等活動，表現四時令景象及生活。在《四時》全堵刻劃的人物只有茂叔²⁷。觀蓮部份具有特別的典故指名，其餘並無特別強調主角的對象指定。《四愛》四大主題，書聖王羲之、詩仙李白、蘇軾和林和靖都是深具才華的詩人。原本《四愛》堵面內容並無須依時節做上下安排順序，但此處施鎮洋為對應龍邊《四時》人物堵佈局，將「蘇東坡愛菊」對應《四時》的秋景，「林和靖愛梅」則呼應《四時》的冬景。因為「王羲之愛鵝」和「李白愛酒」無特定時序選擇就分別安排對應於《四時》堵的春夏兩景。施鎮洋設計這個順序，使《四愛》人物堵面也帶春夏秋冬觀念的象徵性。（詳圖六、圖七）

在桌裙人物對堵《東來紫氣滿函關》《西望瑤池降王母》²⁸，龍邊堵圖案雕刻老子²⁹騎青牛西遊途經函谷關，五位童子伴隨，關令察見東方天際的紫氣異象而知有聖人即將駕臨，趕緊至城外迎接的場景³⁰。此齣頭之傳統寓意為「迎祥納福」，主要是向男壽星的祝壽圖象徵³¹。在虎邊人物堵「西望瑤池降王母」內容則是西王母娘娘降臨瑤池，代表祝禱女壽星的祝壽圖。西王母傳說中常出現於瑤池，或一說為崑崙山。民間傳說中后羿曾向西王母娘娘求取長生藥，結果被嫦娥偷吃而昇月。因此可知長久以來西王母就是代表長生不老的長壽象徵，也常被民間引用為向女壽星的祝壽圖案（詳圖八、圖九）。

²⁷ 茂叔為北宋理學家周敦頤，深諳太極宇宙易理，喜愛蓮花生態的聯想意象。「自李唐以來，世人甚愛牡丹。予獨愛蓮之出淤泥而不染，濯青蓮而不妖；中通外直，不蔓不枝。香遠益清，亭亭淨植，可遠觀而不可褻玩焉」，引自施鎮洋、李榮聰（1999: 80）。

²⁸ 《東來紫氣滿函關》《西望瑤池降王母》2吋厚台灣牛樟木，1尺8寸×1尺5寸2分（約54×46.2cm），採雕板深浮雕雕刻技法、沉框（留框）、漆紅底及上貼金。有關於堵名稱之典故，乃來自於唐朝詩人杜甫〈秋興八首〉詩句。由楊家駱（1979: 653）主編根據清朝浦起龍所撰〈讀杜新解〉分析杜甫寫「西望瑤池降王母」一句，乃源起於〈漢武內傳〉中「上齋居承華殿，忽青鳥從西來集殿前，東方碩曰：『此西王母欲來也。』」，而「東來紫氣滿函關」一句則源於〈關尹內傳〉「關令尹喜，望見東極有紫氣西邁，曰：『應有聖人經過』，果見老君乘青牛車而來」。後來民間習用「紫氣東來」象徵祥瑞將至，而「西望瑤池降王母」象徵享壽千年，都是吉祥之寓意（施鎮洋、李榮聰，1999: 106）。

²⁹ 司馬遷所著《史記》卷六十三〈老子韓非列傳第三〉關於老子之記載「楚苦現厲鄉曲仁里人也，姓李氏，名耳，字聃，周守藏室之史也」。引自施鎮洋、李榮聰（1999: 105）。

³⁰ 根據〈列仙傳〉之記載「老子西遊，關令尹喜望見有紫氣浮關，而老子果乘青牛而過也」。其在周昭王二十三年，因看到周王室逐漸衰微，便離開洛陽而西出函谷關。當時函谷關的守官尹喜非常喜歡道術而向老子請益，老子寫就五千餘字的道德經後，就出關遠走。〈史記〉描述此段故事「老子修道德，其學以自隱無名為務。居周久之，見周之衰，迺遂去。至關，關令尹喜曰『子將隱矣，彊為我著書。』於是老子迺著書上下篇，言道德之意五千餘言而去，莫知其所終」。根據〈抱朴子〉「老子西遊，欲關令尹喜於散關，為喜著《道德經》一卷，謂之《老子》」也是關於老子著書之記載。引自施鎮洋、李榮聰（1999: 106）。

³¹ 從老子的坐騎獨角星牛來研判，此祝壽齣頭很可能只是神話傳說，且在歷史文獻資料中並無相關老子祝壽的資料可資佐證。依據〈史記〉的記載，老子出函谷關當時的歲數是七十多歲，而其修道養壽而年壽一百六十多歲。老子的名字「聃」在說文中解釋為「耳曼」，即耳長之意，這是長壽的特徵，因此一般常以老子代表長壽，也常用於民間祝壽男方的傳統圖案主角。見施鎮洋、李榮聰（1999: 106）。

人物圖式表現分析

施鎮洋在施姓宗祠神龕人物堵設計的特色是考量觀者視線流轉及方位之設計，由神龕外而內一一導引視線向中間龕口。雕屏外側長形《伎樂天》堵的人物曲線主要採取 S 形並龍虎邊互作對稱，引導視角朝中間龕口之重心；而位於雕屏中側下堵橫形的《五老觀太極》《竹林七賢》人物配置則以持平方式處理使有穩定之感；雕屏內側同為長形《四愛》《四時》，為緊鄰龕口的重要位置，利用四個平台地面來展現四種景象之原始構思設計，如同四格連環圖式的明示手法將多重空間、多元主題畫面表現出 S 形視覺流動性及連續性；至於桌裙兩堵方形人物堵，施鎮洋的設計則是將西王母和老子隊伍分別由龍虎兩端朝向桌裙中央，從觀者視角更加強傳統方位重視居中對稱方正之價值觀。

此神龕人物堵圖式的另一項特色就是反映出傳統中國人文觀念，尤其是性別和尊卑倫理方面。整座神龕人物堵角色性別安排上不僅多為男性，例如五老七賢、《四愛》等文人雅士智者，而代表日常生活層面的《四時》也均為男性。再以桌裙人物堵為例，從社會價值角度分析，此兩個堵面構件「龍」邊對應「虎」邊、「左」對應「右」、「男」（老子）對應「女」（西王母）的圖案安排，反映傳統觀念中「男左女右」的方位性。傳統方位左邊代表青龍，也代表男性，象徵尊貴，而右邊白虎代表女性，較為次之。及這充分反映傳統文化的男尊女卑之社會價值體系，也展現在木雕師對於堵面的設計、佈局與排法的整體美感判斷。

在圖案母題的選用方面，施姓宗祠為施姓族人祭祖之處，不同於一般宗教廟宇，在人物堵的圖案題材不宜引用一般廟宇裡常見到的三國演義、佛經故事或是神明事蹟。此處施鎮洋選用《四愛》《四時》《竹林七賢》《五老觀太極》來象徵平凡安逸中的文人世家之風及智者之明。對於施姓宗族而言，施姓宗祠也是家族辦喜事或祝壽宴會的重要地點。因此，施鎮洋在神龕桌裙設計二個祝壽的人物堵，在加上《伎樂天》飛天奏樂龍虎合鳴，也反映其實質的意義與人生欲望希冀之象徵。

二、花鳥圖式

雙雀梅花、大四季、三王圖、英雄奪錦

施姓宗祠神龕雕屏堵及桌裙堵應用花鳥圖式堵面共三對堵六個堵面，分別為《雙雀梅花》、《大四季》，及桌裙《三王圖》《英雄奪錦》。

《大四季》³²兩塊花鳥堵分列於龍虎兩邊雕屏的主要位置，其內容表現為四季花鳥主題因而被慣稱其名。春天代表花卉為牡丹，夏為荷，秋為菊，冬為茶花。龍邊堵雕有牡丹

³² 《大四季》2吋厚台灣牛樟木，「內枝外葉雕」浮雕雕刻技法。

鳳凰、荷花並搭配一對鸞鷲，代表「大四季」的春與夏。百鳥之王鳳凰象徵文明太平，若出現一對鳳鳥則常視為「鳳凰于飛」、「鸞鳳和鳴」。花中之王牡丹比喻為雍容華貴，也用以形容女性之美，所以牡丹搭配鳳凰常象徵「國色天香」、「榮華富貴」、「夫榮妻貴」、「太平盛世」。本圖可以解作「一路連科」，因為「鸞」音同「路」、「蓮」音同「連」，「科」則意涵棵棵蓮子。此處雙鸞即「路路」，象徵一路科試都能成功過關，而雙鸞戲荷花也象徵「因合得偶」，高官居清廉，仁人而愛物³³。《大四季》虎邊堵雕有茶花³⁴錦雞、菊花並搭配一對鴛鴦³⁵，代表「大四季」的秋與冬。由於錦雞雄者頭上有金色冠毛之『金冠』，音同『金官』，出現於盛開錦簇山茶花及菊花中，所以常比喻為「錦上添花」頗有「冠上加官」，全家得享受錦衣玉食之象徵寓意。虎邊花鳥堵左上方兩隻錦雞的姿態形成一股迴旋的動勢，上方錦雞的尾羽僅刻出部份，使畫面空間因未刻全的尾羽而延伸出去。此堵雖指定模作鹿港天后宮後殿神龕堵，但施鎮洋雕刻更為細緻，例如處理雄性鴛鴦的羽毛以類似番花草紋飾加以變化修飾使其較長、捲曲且裝飾性濃厚，如同音樂上的裝飾音，意在使此處畫面更加豐富、前後空間得以加大而更顯立體。畫面以中央的茶花為中心，錦雞、鴛鴦及小鳥環繞周圍形成圓形構圖，構件連結較原件更緊密。（詳圖十、圖十一）

《三王圖》《英雄奪錦》³⁶分別位於桌裙龍虎兩邊，《三王圖》將傳說中百鳥之王鳳凰、百獸之王麒麟、百花之王牡丹組合成「三王」圖案，象徵吉祥之含意。麒麟、鳳都是吉祥物，傳說中麒麟出現代表聖人誕生之祥瑞，也象徵天下安寧。至於牡丹早被譽為百花之王，並視為富貴吉祥的象徵³⁷。《英雄奪錦》也是傳統建築常用之題材，藉祝在群雄競爭中能脫穎而出「順利成功」，其名取老鷹、雄獅、錦雞而成「英雄奪錦」，藉著三者利害衝突而微妙對峙，展現「一觸即發的戲劇張力」，是歷來匠師愛用的表現題材³⁸。

花鳥圖式表現分析

花鳥堵雕刻的構圖大致源自中國傳統工筆花鳥主題，施鎮洋以精細、寫實的手法雕刻並將平面轉化為立體表現，尤其是《三王圖》《大四季》牡丹層層花瓣刻畫相當寫實。畫面的完滿性、繁複性為整個花鳥堵的特色，多種樣式的鳥類與濃密叢聚的茶花及葉等植物滿滿密佈於整個堵面，兩對堵無分時節均呈現熱鬧之感。此外，靜態的花木與具有動態的

³³ 出自施鎮洋、李榮聰(1999: 286)。

³⁴ 山茶花期很長，自冬天開至春天，既可稱冬花又屬春花，可謂長春花。

³⁵ 據晉朝張華《禽經》曰：「鴛鴦，匹鳥也，朝依而暮偶，愛其類也。」崔豹《古今注》：「鴛鴦雌雄不相離，人若獲其一，則一相思而死，故謂之匹鳥。」象徵夫妻愛情專一雙倍雙游。引自施鎮洋、李榮聰(1999: 286)。

³⁶ 《三王圖》《英雄奪錦》2吋厚台灣牛樟木，浮雕雕刻技法。

³⁷ 引自施鎮洋、李榮聰(1999: 260)。

³⁸ 引自施鎮洋、李榮聰(1999: 182)。

飛鳥亦產生一種相映之趣。整體佈局均衡、自然，結構複雜而立體層次繁多。

三、走獸圖式

太平有象、瑞應辨至、苦瓜鼠、葡萄鼠、金瓜鼠、八駿馬、龍柱、雙龍拜塔

施鎮洋設計施姓宗祠神龕有關走獸圖式的作品包括雕屏外側下堵《太平有象》《瑞應辨至》對堵、假貼楣《苦瓜鼠》、貼楣《葡萄鼠》、《金瓜鼠》、《八駿馬》、龍柱，以及《雙龍拜塔》力水。

龍邊《瑞應辨至》雕刻有獅子頂香爐圖案，象徵「香火鼎盛」、「爐火相傳」、「祥獅獻瑞」、「眾瑞雲集」的吉祥寓意。虎邊《太平有象》雕刻一隻大象背瓶而頭轉向龍邊望，背景祥雲繚繞³⁹。「象」取其諧音「祥」代表吉祥，「瓶」與「平」同音而借喻平安、太平。

《八駿馬》是傳統吉祥圖案，借八駿馬⁴⁰快速奔馳之狀來象徵事業興隆，發展迅速，所以開業時祝頌「駿業興隆」、「馬到成功」，也預祝「鴻圖大展」。《苦瓜鼠》、《葡萄鼠》、《金瓜鼠》是以老鼠搭配各種瓜類藤蔓為圖案，老鼠取其繁殖力強，而藤蔓則取其連延不絕，均象徵子孫滿堂萬代之吉祥意義。

力水《雙龍拜塔》呈長形圖案，內容為兩隻大小相同、方向相對稱的龍踏水伴雲且龍頭雙雙朝著中央的寶塔膜拜著。中間的塔為三層，塔的高度與龍頭大小相似，龍頭的鬚鬚呈流線形化開至龍身。底層的大水成對稱型的弧狀向左右兩邊滑開，連捲起的波濤都是大小相似、左右相對稱。雙龍拜塔的鏤空部份自然左右兩邊相同，形成勻襯的留白。配合木料長形空間關係，龍身很長而龍鱗片也刻畫仔細而深刻，祥雲紋也左右對稱而一致。《雙龍拜塔》為傳統圖案，中間的塔換成拜珠、拜日皆可，重要是龍雙雙相對，以顯喜氣洋洋與吉祥。施鎮洋選擇拜塔圖案原因是塔代表莊嚴性，給人安定沈重的歸屬感，有安定居所的深層意義在內。雙龍拜塔中的雲在上水在下，明顯區隔出有天地之分。雙龍對稱的向神龕中央應對出百物朝中，具有凝聚宗族的深刻力量。整個雙龍拜塔都企圖在穩定整個建築佈局，中軸的焦點與平衡的構圖突顯出莊重的特質。

³⁹ 據《晉書·天文志》「瑞氣：一日慶雲，若煙非煙，若雲非雲，郁郁紛紛，蕭索輪囷，是謂慶雲，一日景雲，此喜氣也。」

⁴⁰ 《穆天子傳·一》：「天子之駿八：赤驥、盜驪、白羲、踰輪、山子、渠黃、華騶、綠耳。」又根據《拾遺記·穆天子》：「穆王八駿：一名絕地，足不踐土；二名翻羽，行越飛禽；三名奔霄，夜行萬里；四名超影，逐日而行；五名踰輝，毛色炳耀；六名超光，一形十影；七名騰霧，乘雲而奔；八名挾翼，身有肉翅。」引自施鎮洋、李榮聰(1999: 283)。

四、博古圖式

香爐花籃、布燈花瓶、盔甲連登暗八仙

博古⁴¹作品畫面是由許多富有吉祥、富貴等含義的古器物與花卉植物所構成，每一項構件圖案均有其文化象徵性與意義。古物上常飾有裝飾花紋，稱為「錦路」，這些裝飾紋路使博古畫面更加豐富而具變化性。《盔甲連登暗八仙》乃指定摹作天后宮後殿神龕桌裙大博古，佈局內容幾乎完全相同，同樣施鎮洋在此堵的雕刻手路細緻性及緊密度更為強調，風格上仍有不同，以下針對此堵描述。

其中構件花卉的題材選定主要乃取自「四季」之代表意涵，也象徵大地自然周而復始之韻律與循環性以及人生的輪迴定律。例如，「牡丹」代表春季，「蓮」代表夏季，「菊」代表秋季，而畫面中的竹筒取其「竹」字，為「歲寒三友」之一，以此來代表冬季。博古作品畫面裡的蓮花插在花瓶中，以「蓮」音似「年」而象徵年年平安。煙及香爐則取其香煙繚繞不絕，具有「綿綿不絕、子孫萬代」的含義。至於竹筒構件本身亦具有特殊文化意涵，其筒身的竹節數目為奇數，具有吉祥的含義。竹筒中所裝的物件均分別帶有其吉祥象徵性，例如筆具有「文才」的含義，拂塵則是意指「神明的存在」，芭蕉葉的「蕉」音似「招」，有招財之意，另外還有筷子及鏟煙灰的香杓。這些物件因為具有吉意，都屬於傳統圖案中之寶物。而在畫面上端盤繞的「綬帶」圖紋則取其音同於「壽」，而有「長壽」的意。畫面矩桌上安排各種具有特殊含義的瓜果，「石榴」具有「多子多孫」的寓意，「桃」為長壽之傳統象徵物，「佛手」與福壽音近似，而加入的「柳丁」圖案與「布燈」都有「添丁」之意。總之，所有博古圖構件都具有吉祥、福壽等意義與象徵。

伍、堵面整體美感分析

(一) 形式美感層面

一、媒材：樟木與金箔紅漆

(1) 恆久性的形式美感

木雕製作過程第一件重要的決定就是選擇木材材質，選材必須配合雕作的用途，例如神龕所用的木材和平日使用的家具就不相同。施鎮洋在雕刻媒材選擇最常使用樟木及台灣紅檜兩類，施姓宗祠木作神龕的材質就是樟木。原因在於考量木質穩定、軟硬適宜、文理細緻、色澤淺淡、防蟲防蛀、不易腐爛，以及樹材剖面長寬厚度條件配合堵面製作等等因

⁴¹ 「博古」名詞起源於宋徽宗時，由文人畫家王紱所創。當時藝壇的繪畫發展剛好到瓶頸階段，此時王紱利用許多古物當作臨摹描繪的對象，而繪製成圖，後來就稱此種傳統圖案為《博古圖》，且延用至今。因此，一般所謂的《博古圖》即指由三件以上古器物，配合花鳥圖紋所構成主題的傳統圖案。

素。針對木料的特性，媒材的本身潛力方面徹底地被開發出來。最重要的觀點就是從藝術品的角度思考，考慮到保持雕刻完成形式的恆久性與完整性。

(2) 「金」「紅」裝飾轉化的形式美感。

在台灣民間傳統上對顏色的選擇常喜歡用金色和紅色，因為金色代表富貴之氣，紅色代表喜氣。此處雕屏堵面都敷以金箔，除了也是考慮保護木料而達到形式的長久性，所雕構件金光閃閃表現富貴象徵外，也產生一種華麗的設計性與裝飾美感。另一方面，雕刻人物化為金身，也似乎象徵脫離俗世凡人之寫實轉而神性化。至於桌裙堵更採以紅漆為底，雕刻形體光亮的「金」與底面飽滿的「紅」搭配，整體也表現出媒材運用的形式美感。

二、工法—刀工與透雕

(1) 刀法圓潤的形式美感

施鎮洋承作施姓宗祠神龕運用雕刻工法主要有浮雕、鏤空透雕及立體雕。十分強調整體神龕各個構件畫面整體性考量及細部表現，利用雕刻技法將元素分配組合、聚散、虛實等手法構成一完整形式之等視覺效果。

施鎮洋製作木雕過程在選擇木材材質裁切大樣後，通常慣用毛筆白描圖稿再貼於堵面上，或以毛筆、粉筆直接繪在木料平面上起草圖，接著雕鑿粗胚至大體佈局形象確定，才進入細雕修飾過程。所雕刻每個小細節都非常精緻，這與其圓潤之刀法有非常大的關聯。以人物堵為例，男女老少造型寫真，衣飾褶紋細膩，修飾時均以較細巧雕刀完成。擁有至少一百多把不同樣式且經常使用的雕刀，施鎮洋非常善於利用不同刀面弧度表達圖像，例如《飛天伎樂天》對堵背景的圓朵彩雲，大約使用五種不同弧度的圓口刀，從中間往外圍雕刻以表現彩雲螺心之圓轉；至於雕刻《西望瑤池降王母》的帶狀平緩煙雲，則以平滑弧面的圓口刀表現。而運用平口刀表達石塊台面的斧劈效果，使堵面構件所站立的地基有穩固之感，顯示力度卻不過份剛硬。另外，不論是在《竹林七賢》堵面背景片狀竹葉及《博古》屈仔的平口刀運用，或在《五老觀太極》針狀松針的小尖刀細修，以及花鳥堵牡丹、荷花等花葉之圓口刀處理，其刀法皆不露鋒芒地刻劃出物體的特性。多樣式刀口弧度工具的靈活運用，整體表現出刀法圓潤的形式美感。

(2) 鏤空「連」「滿」的形式美感

施鎮洋製作施姓宗祠神龕雕屏堵或是桌裙堵，都是將堵面雕板從後鑲嵌到主體木作結構。而雕板雕刻在木料厚度限制之下，較不易表現圖象景深。施鎮洋主要運用透雕技法表現雕屏堵面，以及運用深浮雕技法雕刻桌裙堵。前者主要藉由鏤空處理，使雕屏產生類似屏風或花窗效果，並使神龕有內外之區隔，且具有較佳透光性而不致有壓迫感，空間也隨

鏤空部分向後延伸。例如，《大四季》「內枝外葉雕」鏤空雕法掌握較厚的木材空間雕出內外高低層次，不僅正反面都雕，透空縱深的部份也修飾精細，運用此工法可強化整體畫面的立體感覺。後者主要考量桌裙立面位置，藉由深浮雕堵面來加強神龕造型穩重感，但為求搭配雕屏堵鏤空效果，因此桌群堵採「假透雕」之工法表現。

透雕堵面除力求鏤刻雕工層次精彩外，須顧及鏤空構件彼此連結關係與保持結構的牢固性。施鎮洋在考量堵面人物和背景的銜接設計，常巧妙利用人物手持物件或手勢動作與背景連結。舉例來說，施鎮洋雕刻《四愛》當中摘折梅枝的童子時，相當大膽地將其身體背後幾乎完全鏤空，但設計將童子雙手握持梅枝、腳踩梅幹、背脊與上方台面底部一角相倚，使其不至於毫無著力支撐點。再如《竹林七賢》老者手持拐杖和竹林的銜接，以及《四時》堵面煮茶童子搖扇的右手與背景煙雲的連接，可謂佈局構思慎密、步步為營。因此綜觀雕屏所有透雕堵面，不論人物之構圖位置有所差異，在其主體剩餘的空間均作結構性的補滿，構件似各自獨立但整體環環相扣。工法雖是「鏤空」，實為一種「連」「滿」的美感形式表現。

三、構圖—觀者視角與空間

(1) 觀者視角的形式美感

分析施姓宗祠神龕的堵面之構圖，主要採觀者視角之透視處理。在雕屏堵面之透視處理全都設計成俯視角度，例如所有雕屏堵面的石塊台地，人物堵《四時》《四愛》的桌子、書和點心擔子，《五老觀太極》的圖卷，以及《竹林七賢》的石桌與桌上的書冊等俯角透視表現。若從生態角度來看，花朵及葉子向光性理應面朝上，但施鎮洋在花鳥堵將牡丹、茶花、荷花等花朵面向觀者，視角為俯視表現。《伎樂天》對堵因表現天上仙境，俯視視野不太明顯，但從鳳獅龍配角等構件看來仍有俯視之感。從觀者面向神龕之方向，神龕桌檯地欄大約為視平線所在。雕屏堵面位於桌檯面以上，原應為仰視角度。但施鎮洋在此為考量觀者視角，改採俯視透視設計，以達到視線平衡之效果。至於桌裙堵的兩個人物堵，因位在視平線之下方，除了表示老子與西王母由天降臨而仍運用俯視角度外，其餘構件也輔以平視透視表現。此種著重觀者視角的形式美感，加強作品與觀者之互動關係。

(2) 多重空間轉換與連續的形式美感

在雕屏各堵之中以人物堵空間的運用安排較具特色，施鎮洋運用不同石塊地面表達同一空間的相對景深，例如《竹林七賢》七位賢人分立於五個石塊地面；或是以不同石塊地面表達多重空間的彼此分隔，例如《四愛》《四時》的四格空間。但是其中巧妙之處在於《竹林七賢》堵面表達相對景深的不同石塊實際相連，而《四愛》《四時》的格化空間分隔其實也具聯繫性，視線可隨之上下遊移連續，自然空間也連鎖性的開展。施鎮洋在兩件

桌裙人物堵面活用環狀圖案，以外加圖式之象徵手法來表現空間景深的靈活轉換，以及仙境的幽深廣闊。整體表現出對於多重空間轉換與連續的形式美感。

四、原則：古意老氣、對稱均衡、多元繁複、寫實神韻

(1) 古意老氣

施鎮洋處理堵面強調掌握古意之要訣，雕刻工法按傳統方式，步驟、刀法、佈局、題材、人物衣著等形式和內容表現均參考早期匠師的原則進行，表現出木雕藝術的古意、老氣、耐看之形式美感。

(2) 對稱均衡

施鎮洋雕刻神龕講究龍虎邊的橫向對稱，其運用手法包括方位及向性的對稱，例如人物圖式頭頸部的轉向、手勢、行進、身體曲線、衣褶擺向、襯景樹石建物、煙雲分佈，花鳥圖式中鳥獸眼神、頭部朝向、行進方向等，以及博古圖式屈仔和配件物排列等。施鎮洋還注重質與量的對稱，人物年齡、身份、衣著、裝飾物、數目、花朵大小、長瓶矮瓶等。方向與質量對稱原則之形式運用，從而指引出位在對稱中軸線上的宗祠神位，此種中軸焦點設計也發揮宗祠建築的安定人心功能。整體畫面講究平衡感，堵面構件之排列設計考慮整體的完滿，並無特別偏重的部分。左右或是上下部分的質量差距不多，均衡的構圖予人心平氣和、穩定的感覺。

(3) 多元繁複

施鎮洋的雕刻表現相當強調樣式構件的多元，在單一堵面之中，從襯景構件的設計，例如《飛天伎樂天》各式弧度的圓形彩雲，呈現出「多」的震撼、數大的美麗；在《四時》《四愛》襯景樹中或長或圓或散或聚等不同的葉形，樣式非常繁複而具變化性，《博古》的配景構件更是多元。而每件人物堵主體人物的造型各異，動作姿態不一，構件組合避免形式一再重複。同樣在雕屏整體堵面配置安排也運用多元原則，人物堵四周的其它堵面就配上非人物題材，例如花鳥堵、水族堵、博古等。整體而言，堵面的上下左右，橫向縱向也都秉持不同性，顯示多元繁複之形式美感。

(4) 寫實神韻

不管是人物、山石葉片的形狀、雲朵的線條，施鎮洋將每個物體都刻出實際樣態與寫實性。堵面構件人物或回頭、低頭或仰頭的姿態，再加上眼神流轉或手勢動作互相對應，充分表達人物動態的傳神韻味之形式美感。例如「七賢」「五老」讀書、思考或看圖的專注及討論的活絡神情；《四時》利用雪光看書、秋閒怡然聊天的人物、《四愛》的林和靖緊張的面色、李白醉酒酣姿、蘇東坡賞菊入神；「西王母」的慈顏安詳、向老子朝拜的關

令恭敬神態等等；《英雄奪錦》劍拔弩張一觸即發的張力完全表現在鷹、獅、雞三者的姿態與眼神。除此之外，每個視景構件也一刀一鑿純熟精細的雕出山石的堅硬、煙雲的柔美流動、老幹樹皮的粗糙。透過視覺效果流轉暢然的堵面設計表現，傳述著木雕藝術所流傳下來的神韻美感。

（二）內容美感層面

象徵：「逸」「真」「德」「達」「和」「壽」「祥」

施姓宗祠神龕共有八件人物堵面，均帶有象徵寓意。《四時》表現平日生活作息，平淡中帶有安逸的人生，為「逸」的描述；《四愛》藉四位歷史文人對物的喜愛痴癡，愛梅、愛菊、愛酒、愛鵝，為性情中人之真情流露，為「真」的表白；《竹林七賢》讀書清談，品德就如竹一般高風亮節，為「德」的表徵；《五老觀太極》藉年長智者觀圖而象徵通達天地易理，為「達」之境界；《飛天伎樂天》藉仙樂飄飄、鳳獅龍虎百獸百鳥唱合，象徵平和的冀求，為「和」的象徵；《西望瑤池降王母》為八仙赴瑤池祝壽傳說典故的轉化，為「壽」的冀求；而《東來紫氣滿函關》的紫氣象徵祥瑞，長壽的老子已成仙而去，為「祥」之寓意。雖然是雕繪歷史傳說中前人的故事，實則暗示今人的思考與心境。堵面中寫實的人物神韻栩栩如生，充分表露出真性真情，彷彿施姓後代族人都化身成木雕堵面故事中的人物，齊而向施姓列祖列宗表達人生企求。整體人物堵內容之象徵性，完美的表現出傳統文化觀與美感價值。

陸、傳統風格與創作生態以施姓宗祠神龕雕作為例

（一）傳統生態

傳統木雕師的專業生存環境自成一種特殊的藝術社會生態，以往雕刻師傅以對場競爭承包工程制度獲得建物的雕刻創作權，並以師傅頭帶領二手師傅群以團隊形式進行製作。施鎮洋承作宗祠神龕時，除了以受託方式承作，也仍以其約五至六位鑿花師的團體共同承作整體雕刻組件。施鎮洋主要規劃整體神龕結構、堵面圖式及工法大樣、擬稿繪製圖案，並負責所有堵件粗胚定位，其餘小型構件雕刻修飾則由二手接續。因為相當重視此件工程，絕大部分神龕重要組件包括龍柱、花鳥柱及人物堵仍是施鎮洋本人親自完成修飾工作，尤其是桌裙大博古、人物祝壽對堵這幾堵均全由其雕刻完成。大體就創作過程而言，傳統建築木雕作品屬於一種以團隊形式、帶有分工性質的集體創作。

傳統木雕師主要精於立體雕作方面，通常不善繪平面圖稿或僅大致草繪簡圖或紋樣。對於較複雜的圖案構成仍需藉重繪圖師傅之構思配置，尤其是一些經典戲齣圖稿都成為木雕師代代相傳之重要教材。這種相互分工合作之協同創作關係，實為早期維繫傳統藝術教育發展之重要社會因素。早期木雕師傅有賴彩繪師繪稿或是民間流傳的繪本而再依樣雕作

成形，因此多練就出讀圖功力，能立即將二度空間轉化成三度空間。所以木雕師傅相當重視圖稿而絕不輕易示人的現象也較容易理解。

有關傳統木雕所運用的圖案母題，其畫面情境與配置皆已流傳成一種固定的模式與規範，其實內容及形式表現都帶有臨摹性質。例如人物圖式題材通常為歷史人物，引用傳統典故齣頭，比如「七賢」讀書清談、「五老」觀圖、「飛天」奏樂、「老子」出函谷關、「瑤池」祝壽、《四愛》《四時》等，人事物之關係和時空背景均有其淵源。另外，雕刻人物堵構件時還需注意傳統文化方位之成規，例如男女性別方位、文官武官職別方位等與神龕龍虎邊的對應關係。在此人文傳統下，花鳥、走獸、水族等圖式的生命體構件人格化且被賦予尊卑階層地位及倫理社會性，衍生出來的價值意義自成體系，例如「百鳥朝鳳」及「三王」。不僅如此，連在博古組件中的無生命體器物也因為形塑象徵性，其聯想意象空間與神人社會緊密連結。長久以來這些圖案母題表現已經架構成一種無形的運作模式與思維，也成為傳統木雕師傅承作時的遵循法則，當然和目前以木頭為媒材的現代雕刻創作有其人文背景及創作思路不同之處。

發展到現代，一些雕刻主要齣頭題材仍是傳承以前的傳統構思原則與想法，但是畫面上可以依師傅意願作形式上的調整。以施姓宗祠神龕來看，「竹林七賢」「五老觀太極」「四時」「四愛」以及桌裙「西王母」「老子」人物對堵均為人物齣頭內容的傳統經典圖像。施鎮洋雖然面臨須依要求摹製鹿港天后宮後殿雕屏《大四季》花鳥堵以及桌裙大博古、桌裙男女壽星祝壽圖，不僅指定圖案母題，堵面構圖及工法表現也要求模仿原作。施鎮洋雕製時配合施姓宗祠神龕的實際場域及結構尺寸，而做形式構圖佈局或配景構件的增減調整。原天后宮後殿桌裙堵件因加有花草紋飾邊框，所以堵內構件佈局較為橫長，而施姓宗祠桌裙堵則較呈方形，在天地空間之佈局上也較具景深效果。至於飛天對堵則是施鎮洋參考畫家水墨作品而自行開發的人物雕刻圖像，新意特色十足。從圖意學的角度，關於其中傳說故事題材的影響方面，這些人物堵主題內容上的整體性產生審美上的意象與意境的感受，是整個創作概念明晰而具感染力的真實呈現。

（二）傳統風格與時代精神

從施姓宗祠神龕堵面作品表現分析，施鎮洋大體謹慎遵循傳統木雕各式法則，儘量避免違背一般因循成俗的製作禁忌。傳統建築木雕在母題題材內容和形式的傳統化，雖然似乎使創作空間及變通性相對受到限制，但就表現方面而言並非是全然的限制，從另一觀點來看反而可視為一種遊戲規則。施鎮洋依循此傳統規則之範疇，並活用規則在其腦海中架構出藍圖，整體神龕因此能整合如一幅畫面般加以系統性的組織、分配、設計、發揮。追求的是善用木料特性及各式雕刀工具，並在堵面構件設計上將構圖和背景襯物表現得更多樣而靈活。

另外，施鎮洋一再強調雕刻最重要的追求目標是讓堵面中的主體構件鮮活起來，使雕刻人物、鳥獸、樹木花草之動作和神韻栩栩如生，整個堵面展現出生態的感覺。這種較不同於傳統雕刻臨摹認知而近似寫生求真之創作態度，也許可由當時台灣藝術環境的風氣及價值判斷影響來分析。從日據時代開始透過美術教育途徑⁴²和帝展、台展等官方展覽，西方的寫生寫實的創作觀念即大受提倡，以新的審美價值判斷標準重新包裝所有藝術舞台。這重大衝擊首先影響當時台籍「業餘畫家」⁴³爭相揚棄傳統文人詩書畫意境而擁抱西方式之美學價值以晉身為「現代」行列，也帶動民間「畫師」努力改變創作型態和方式⁴⁴。就傳統藝術而言，在此大環境藝術風氣轉變及若干傳統彩繪師在平面母題形式上的漸漸轉型，自然或多或少影響雕刻師在立體型式力求突破的表現，尤其是較具創作敏銳度的傳統雕刻工作者紛紛企圖轉型，像鹿港李松林及其後的施鎮洋即是其中一例。早自民國六十八年施鎮洋獨立門戶承製工程的同時，即已漸漸開始進行小型物件創作，雖然構思仍以傳統入手，但作品造型展現上已嘗試融入運用現代觀念。

施姓宗祠神龕是施鎮洋承作傳統建築雕刻後期最重要的完成品，不僅時間耗費最長，也投入最多心力。從神龕堵面形式角度分析，施鎮洋對於對象物寫生寫實態度的表現以及空間透視和視角處理，從木質中雕刻湧出一股強勁旺盛的生命力，更可從而窺知一位傳統雕刻師在指定委作的傳統運作模式與生態下，作品中試圖整合現代藝術創作精神所做的努力。也就是在媒材工法的本身潛力方面更徹底的開發，對形式表現的整體性以及內容蘊含的傳統文化美感之掌握。除了其堵面雕刻表現可分析出設計原則如形、音、義的對稱、均衡、對比、完滿等沿襲傳統的文化經驗與象徵，整體雕刻在形式層面、內容層面的誇張繁複、精緻裝飾、多元包容，也透露出一股本土性格的獨特氣質。這種反映出形於外的、海洋性格的人與地關係之創作美感，相對於原初大陸沿岸漳、泉、福、潮等地區木雕風格已經有相當大的差異。這種屬於時代性與地域性的特質所呈現的創作價值，反映出一種時代意義，一種能融合地域、傳統、現代形式與內容的「時代精神」。施鎮洋在施姓宗祠神龕雕作過程不因遵循傳統而有所滯礙，反而靈活運用「遊戲規則裡的空間」，在有限中求最大的突破，在原則下求最大的創意。從傳統符號與模式中走出木雕藝術美學的另一空間與「時代精神」，這才是傳統木雕得以再生的動力。

⁴² 最初透過教育方式傳遞寫生觀念的啟蒙者為石川欽一郎，他實際指導第一批台籍留日美術學生。

⁴³ 此處分類根據謝東山(1998, 頁 99-100)所針對台灣初期美術發展之用詞，「業餘畫家」所指例如黃土水、陳澄波、李石樵等，以區分出屬於社會某種技藝階層、具專門繪畫技藝能力並用以維生的「畫師」。

⁴⁴ 前輩畫家林玉山回憶道：「像潘春源可以說已經是定了形的畫家，以前也畫過觀音、帝君等神像一類的畫，到這時候再刻苦也得要寫生，結果還是畫出來了。另外還有周雪峰也是從畫神像轉變而寫生的，居然也畫得很不錯。」引自謝理法(1979, 頁 56)。

表一 施鎮洋參與其父施坤玉承包廟宇工程

時間 (民國)	年 齡	作品名稱	祀奉主神	施作部份	備註
五十三年	18	雙慈宮及後殿天公殿	媽祖	1.翻修前殿神龕 2.翻修後殿木作神龕	
六十年	25	鎮瀾宮	媽祖	五面浮雕	退役後獨立接下神像後的五面浮雕，並請台南潘麗水繪作畫稿。
六十年	25	太極恩主寺	玉皇大天尊	五門藻井及中港神龕	
六十五年	30	新豐宮	五府千歲	神龕、藻井	
六十五年	30	孔子廟	孔子	第二期工程，後殿北式神龕、斗拱、牌樓	學會北式作法。
六十六年	31	浩天宮	媽祖	正殿三座神龕	

表二 施鎮洋承製傳統廟宇雕刻

時間 (民國)	年 齡	作品名稱	祀奉主神	施工內容
六十八年	33	彰化福吉佛堂	觀世音菩薩	神龕（北式作法）與大八仙桌
六十九年	34	彰化城隍廟	城隍爺	神龕與大八仙桌
七十年	35	彰化太極恩主寺	天公、日月真君	凌霄寶殿神龕
七十三年	38	彰化白雲寺	佛	神龕、后壁板「荷塘清趣」、「松鶴延年
七十四年	39	鹿港施姓宗祠	家廟宗祠	神龕
八十三年	49	鹿港城隍廟	城隍爺	木雕部份

表三 施鎮洋創作作品一覽表

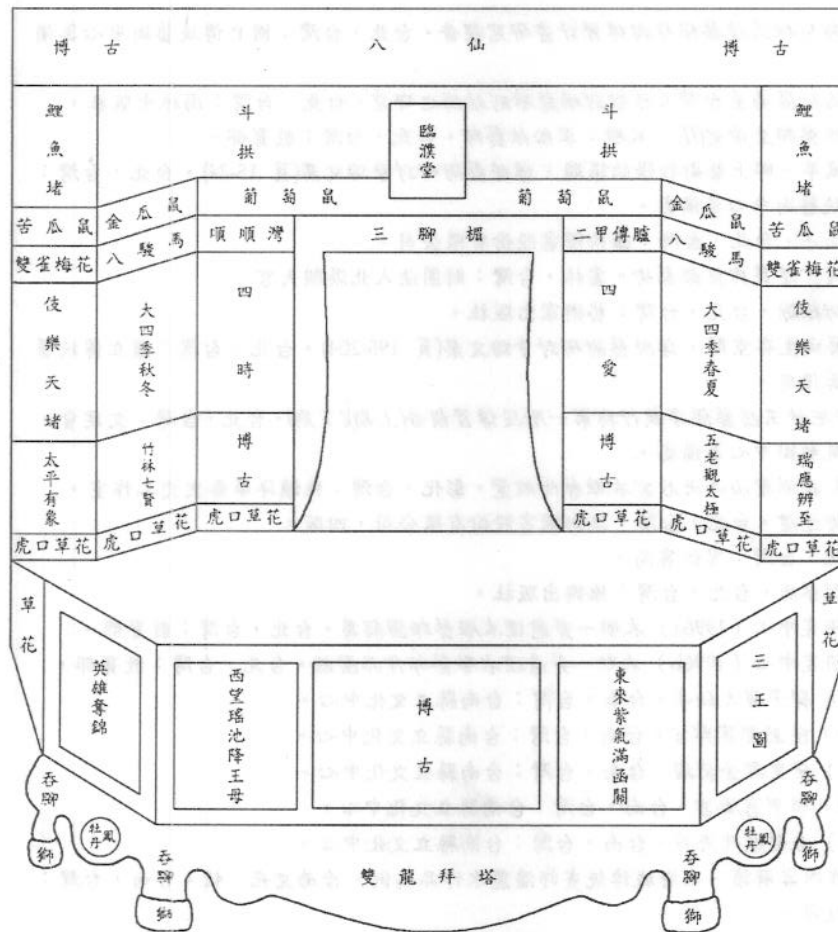
時間(民國)	創作年齡	作品	收藏處
六十八年	33	仕女圖、武將	法國-四件
六十九年	34	松鶴延年	日本
七十年	35	九如圖	台中蕭先生
七十二年	37	滿堂吉慶	施姓宗祠
七十二年	37	龍鳳吉祥	台中蕭先生
七十四年	39	突 破	文化中心
七十五年	40	鹿苑長春	省博館
七十五年	40	荷塘清趣	省博館
七十五年	40	富貴白頭	省博館
七十五年	40	超登采石	台中蔡先生
七十五年	40	鯉躍龍門	台中蔡先生
七十五年	40	龍鳳吁吉	台中蔡先生
七十六年	41	風雲際會	鹿港涂先生
七十六年	41	白頭偕老	英國

七十六年	41	福祿壽喜	英國
七十九年	44	春花三喜	鹿港吳先生
八十年	45	瓜瓞綿綿	文建會
八十一年	46	英雄奪錦	三義游先生
八十一年	46	「博古」一對	彰化伍先生
八十二年	47	關公周倉關平	鹿港許先生
八十二年	47	司 晨	吳伯雄先生
八十三年	48	帶子上朝	文化中心
八十三年	48	降 福	彰化黃先生
八十三年	48	四季六屏	李總統登輝
八十四年	49	唱 隨	和美鄭先生
八十四年	49	鳴	和美鄭先生
八十四年	49	四季六屏	三義游先生
八十五年	50	英雄奪錦	和美鄭先生

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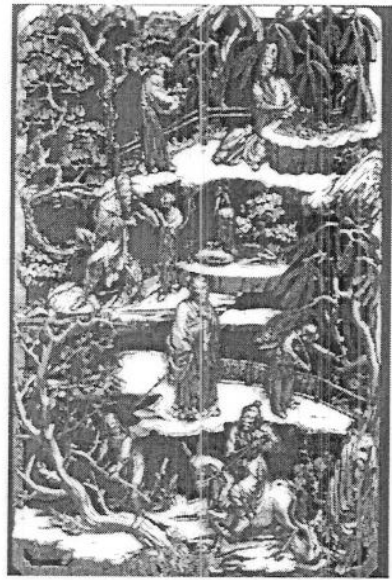
圖二、施姓宗祠神龕堵件結構圖



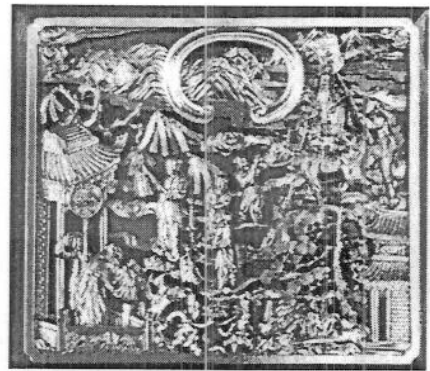
圖四、《伎樂天》虎邊堵



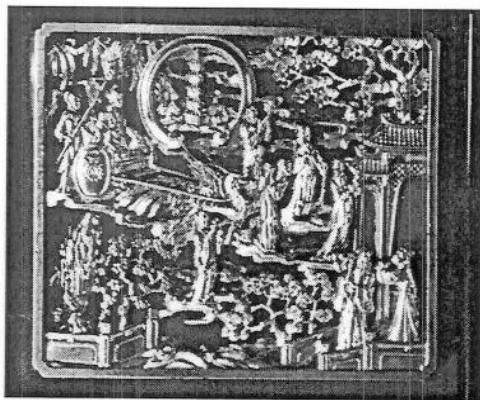
圖五、《伎樂天》龍邊堵



圖七、《四愛》



圖九、《東來紫氣滿函關》



圖八、《西望瑤池降王母》



圖十一、《大四季春夏》





《翠玉》一十圖



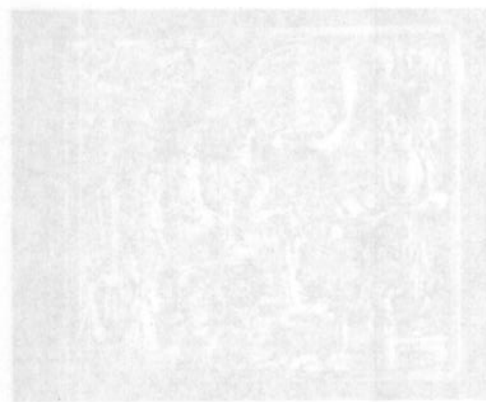
《翠玉》一十圖



《翠玉》一十圖



《翠玉》一十圖



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《翠玉》一十圖



《翠玉》一十圖

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Ancestral Temple

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